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ART. I.—REVIEW OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
PRISON DISCIPLINE SOCIETY.

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Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline
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WHEN a man is accused of having violated the laws of his country, the liveliest interest is often felt in his situation; and the sympathies of the community are enlisted either in his favor or against him, according to their preconceived opinion of his guilt or innocence. But when his trial is ended, and the sentence of a court has consigned him to the sufferings and degradation of a prison, all this interest dies away in the one last, cold inquiry, "is he safely lodged within those walls from which he cannot escape?" When this question is answered, the multitude turn away, satisfied if bars, and bolts, and chains guard the space between them and their brother; and thenceforth view him as a ruined man, an outcast from human society and human compassion. Seldom do they trouble themselves with the inquiry, whether, in those gloomy cells, he suffers more or less than strict justice demands; and whether, when the term of his confinement expires, he shall be restored to his family, and to the world, a penitent, reformed man, and through the remainder of his life, sustain the character of an industrious, and useful citizen; or whether he shall come forth from his den like some malignant fiend, to ravage and destroy. We are aware, that much of the apathy which has existed for ages on this subject, is owing to ignorance of the real condition of these unhappy men, and of the lamentable want of discipline, as well as the shameful abuses, that have existed in prisons. The cry of ten thousand enormities and abominations which have existed within these gates of perdition, has seldom reached the public ear; although like the cry of Sodom, it has risen up to heaven. But since the days of Howard, a few have been found like him, to

plunge into the loathsomeness of dungeons, and to search out and make report of the secret wickedness of prisons. Something has been done to prepare the way for reformation; and a spirit of inquiry has been waked up, both in Europe and in this country, which, we trust, will not suffer christians to rest, till every prison in the civilized world shall have been reformed. In our own country, these inquiries have brought to light many important facts; and have led to experiments which ought to convince the most incredulous among us, that these "high-schools of iniquity" may be changed into houses of reformation, or at least be made much more like what prisons should be, among a civilized people.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC PRISONS, therefore is the subject to which we would now call the attention of our readers, while we lay before them the fourth annual Report of the Society established for this purpose.

This Report is a pamphlet containing ninety six octavo pages. The plan of it is, "to look at the interests of several of the States in regard to Prison Discipline; to present an abstract of the criminal laws of some of the United States, with general remarks on the same; and to make a statement concerning the indirect influence and immediate results of this Society's labors."

In order to obtain a clear view of this subject, and justly to appreciate the design of the Society, it may be necessary to glance briefly at the state of prisons, as they were generally managed before any improvements were introduced, and as a great majority of them are managed at the present time. And here, let it be remembered, that for the facts in relation to the wretched condition of our prisons; and for all the valuable information of every kind on this subject, as well as for the improvements which have been made, we are, either directly or indirectly, indebted to the indefatigable exertions of the Prison Discipline Society.

What then is the real condition of our prisons? To answer this question at large, is a task which we shall not now attempt. We can only say in a single word, *they are full of evils*. Some of the principal of these we shall briefly enumerate, and the first we shall mention is, that they are *very expensive establishments*.

The expenditures in the New Hampshire State Prison, exceeded the income in the year 1819, by the sum of \$4235.61. The average number of prisoners does not exceed seventy. The total expense of the State of Massachusetts, for supporting their prison nine years, from 1814, to 1824, was \$78,328.44. The average number of convicts was three hundred and three. The State Prison in Connecticut, from 1790, to 1826, cost the State \$214,611.38; while the number of prisoners has usually been less than one hundred. "In the State Prison in New-York city, the total

expense to the state, in twenty years, from 1803, to 1823, was \$381,302.32. The average number of prisoners during this period, was six hundred and three." The annual expense of the State Prison at Lamberton, New-Jersey, is about \$4,000. The average number of convicts is not above seventy. We might mention other instances of a similar kind, but these are sufficient for our purpose. In these five states, then, there has been annually paid out, the sum of *forty one thousand six hundred and eighty three dollars*;—for what? For the purposes of education and moral improvement? No. But for the purpose of training, (unintentionally indeed, but not the less effectually,) *eleven hundred and forty six human beings* in all the nameless arts of iniquity; and of sinking them to an unfathomable depth of moral degradation, to be let loose from time to time upon the unsuspecting community, accomplished and hardened villains! What an annual expense for education! and what a company of "graduates" from these schools of abomination! And why should prisons be thus expensive? Why should they not be made, at least, to support themselves? That they *may*, will be shown in another place. To the inquiry *why* they have cost so much, the answer will be found written upon every thing within their walls. Let the inquirer look down into these miserable abodes, and he will cease to wonder that they are expensive. He will wonder only that an enlightened christian public could tolerate the existence of such establishments, and still more, that they should quietly pay an annual tax to support them.

Many irregularities have arisen from the employment of *improper and unfaithful officers*. It would seem, that here if any where, men of upright principles should be stationed. But facts show that men have not unfrequently been employed as keepers and assistant keepers, who have let themselves down from their station, and become the companions and accomplices of the vilest convicts. They have been guilty of aiding such men in their plans of wickedness; of furnishing materials for altering, and counterfeiting bills, and assisting in their circulation; of employing convicts to steal for them; of sometimes suffering them to escape; and of various misdemeanors, calculated to thwart the designs of justice, and to endanger the peace of society. Nor does it always happen that those keepers whose intentions are good, and who would not be guilty of any improper intercourse with convicts, are always the *right* men for such a post of duty. It is not enough that an officer does not *intend* to act the part of a criminal; if he is wanting in certain traits of character, he is unfit for the station. When men of equanimity, decision of character, strict sobriety, constant vigilance, devoted piety, and disinterested benevolence, shall be stationed in all our prisons, "then will much have been

done towards making them what they were designed to be, places of punishment, restraint, obedience, correction, and reformation; and not what they *have been*, to a lamentable extent, seminaries of vice." Among the three thousand convicts who are the constant inmates of our prisons, there are many who have become old in the arts of wickedness, and who are shrewd observers of character; and if a keeper has any marked deficiency, they are sure to discover it, and if possible to turn it to their own advantage. In order to keep this army of villains in tolerable subjection, they must be held with a strong, steady, impartial hand; and if they are to be reformed, they must be treated in a firm and serious manner, though at the same time with mildness and benevolence. When the prisoners witness in their keepers, daily examples of intemperance, partiality or indecision of conduct, profaneness and ribaldry of language, irritability and malevolence of temper, abuse and injury in the exercise of authority; reformation is out of the question. We do not say that all the keepers of our prisons are improper persons; there are many honorable exceptions. But instances of mal-practice are far too frequent, and it must be obvious to every one, that a fault, so injurious in its effects, demands immediate correction. This, however, is but one evil among many, and though it is an important one, still, if only this were removed, the work of reform would by no means be complete. There are others which demand attention.

It will readily be perceived, that much, in regard to the internal management of prisons, depends upon *the manner of their construction*. This is often such as would, in a great measure, defeat the most wakeful vigilance, and the most persevering efforts of the best men, to maintain any proper regulations. In many prisons are found hiding places, where the convicts can devise schemes of mischief, without the fear of detection. The apartments are large enough to contain several individuals, and are so situated that the keeper cannot approach them without the rattling of bolts, and the grating of heavy doors, which are sufficient to warn the inmates of his approach in season to conceal every thing of a suspicious nature. Accordingly when he arrives, all is apparently in security and order; and should he even discover any thing wrong in the room, it is difficult among so many, to detect the author of it. Of the many examples of badly constructed prisons which might be produced, we will mention one. It is said that, "in the old prison in Connecticut, if the prisoners themselves had been permitted to build a prison, where they could have the greatest facilities for concealment with the least possibility of detection, and where they could serve their master with none to molest them; it is difficult to conceive how the end could have been more effectually attained. In a prison, constructed as that is, it must require nearly as many keep-

ers as prisoners, to prevent communication between the latter. This remark is applicable to the shops, and other buildings scattered about the yard. In the dungeons seventy feet under ground, formerly used as night rooms, some of the prisoners volunteered to return to them, as places of confinement at night, and assigned as the reason, that they could there curse, and swear, and fight, and do other unutterable abominations without having it known to any one." The bad construction of prisons, and the want of proper system in their discipline, are the source of the principal abuses which have so long existed in them.

In few cases is there any proper arrangement made, for the *regular employment of prisoners in systematic and profitable labor, during the day*. Hard labor has indeed been introduced into many prisons; but the shops are not arranged in such a manner, as to admit of an easy supervision. A variety of ingenious trades are permitted, which require many curious tools, so that the convict can desire no better opportunities, nor greater facilities for perfecting himself in the arts, and supplying himself with the implements of mischief, than are here furnished him. No provision is made for the separation of prisoners during the night. They are locked together, often in apartments the most loathsome and filthy, in numbers from two to thirty-two in a room, where their intercourse is wholly unrestrained. Here, schemes of vice are originated and matured. Here, hatred to society becomes more malignant, and plots are formed against its peace. Here, profaneness and obscenity abound. Here, the young offender is brought into company with the most hardened villains, from whom he suffers unutterable abuses, and in whose society he is schooled in all the mysteries of iniquity. "No efforts are spared to render the young convict unprincipled and profligate;" and he soon becomes versed in every thing which contributes to render him "a terror and a pest to society;" and being deeply imbued with the principle, that, "society having injured him, he has a natural right to revenge upon it," he leaves the prison fully prepared for every deed of desperate and abandoned crime. "If a convict is not already lost to virtue, it is difficult to conceive in what manner his ruin can be consummated more speedily, than by thrusting him into such a place." More than *one-seventh* of those who have been committed to prison were under twenty-one years of age; and some have been found under the age of twelve years, confined for many months, and even more than a year, in the same apartment with the most abandoned and profligate of human beings. Here they are abused in a manner which, could it be disclosed to the world, would send a thrill of horror through every soul that is not utterly lost to the common sensibili-

ties of our nature ; and this too, without the power of complaining of their dreadful sufferings, unless at the hazard of their lives. And while these demons are thus subjecting their young associates to physical degradation, they are indelibly stamping upon their minds the impress of their own abandoned wickedness. When such causes have worked their full and dreadful effect upon these youth, how can they be expected to come forth from these dens of misery and shame, in any other character than that of hardened villains, unless rescued from their fate by some signal interposition of heaven. No less dreadful is the condition of lunatics, of whom, upwards of **THREE HUNDRED**, a short time since, might be found in the jails of the United States, dragging out a miserable existence, friendless, neglected, and abused. Many of them have been for years in dark and loathsome cells, the doors of which, in some instances have not been opened for months, where without clothes, without fire, without a comfortable place to lay their heads, their sufferings must have been extreme. In a prison in Massachusetts, where were confined at the same time ten lunatics, in a most forlorn condition, one "was found in a plank apartment of the first story, where he had been eight years. During this time he had never left the room but twice. The door of this apartment had not been opened for eighteen months. The food was furnished through a small orifice in the door. The room was warmed by no fire ; and still the woman of the house said he "*had never froze!*" As he was seen through the orifice in the door, the first question was, "is that a human being?" "The hair was gone from one side of his head, and his eyes were like balls of fire." The condition of the others was scarcely less deplorable.

Little or no attention has been paid to *classifying* the prisoners. They have been promiscuously crowded together into the same rooms, without regard to character. Thieves, and murderers, and debtors, condemned and uncondemned, old and young, sane and insane, blacks and whites, and, in some instances, even *males and females*, are thrust into the same apartment, and allowed an intercourse the most unrestrained and pernicious. The debtor, transferred from the bosom of his dependent family, to the companionship of outlaws, must, if he is a man of virtuous principles, suffer a punishment more severe than the basest convict. Nor is this all. He is in danger of becoming assimilated to his companions, so that when he is released, he may resort to some other mode of supporting his family, than honest industry. Many also are committed to prison, who, after enduring for months all the disgrace and hardships of imprisonment with condemned malefactors, are found not guilty, and dismissed. Here, then, the innocent suffer with the guilty. Justice and humanity require that such abuses should be corrected. A *classification*

of prisoners, therefore, should never be neglected, if the construction of the prison should unfortunately render it necessary to place a number of individuals in the same room.

Were it proper to detail all the facts which this Society has brought to light, every person of ordinary sensibility would shudder at the recital. In one prison, during the hot weather in July, thirty two men were lodged in one room, twenty one feet long, ten feet wide, and less than seven feet high, with only one small window, and a narrow space over the door, to ventilate it. At the same time, all the prisoners, one hundred and nine in number, were lodged in five rooms, none of which were so large as the one just mentioned. All these rooms were in the basement story, and were narrow, crowded, extremely filthy, and abounding with various kinds of vermin. Within less than half a mile of the Hall of our National Legislature, there existed, till within a short time, the worst prison in this country. It was divided by a passage running from one end to the other through the center. On each side of this passage were eight cells, each eight feet square, having an arched sewer under it, with a hole in the corner cut through the brick pavement into the sewer, which was used for every necessary purpose. In this odious place, seventy or eighty persons, many of them innocent individuals, were often confined for months; and even witnesses have been confined in the same cells with the criminals against whom they were to give testimony. Only a few years since, seven persons—three women and four children,—were confined in one of these cells in the beginning of winter. "They were almost naked;—one of them was sick, lying on the damp brick floor, without bed, pillow, or covering. In this abominable cell, these seven human beings were confined, day by day, and night after night, without a bed, chair, or stool, or any other of the most common necessities of life; compelled to sleep on the damp floor without any covering but a few dirty blankets." And, what adds a deeper shade to this picture of misery, these children were guilty of no crime, but "were confined under a strange system of law" in the District of Columbia; "by which a colored person, who alledges he is free, and appeals to the tribunals of the country to have the matter tried, is committed to prison till the decision takes place." At the same time, the condition of the prisoners in the other cells, was no better than that of the miserable beings just described. Although this is an extreme case, yet it is not too much to say, that a multitude of prisons might be named, whose condition has been but little better than that of the one at Washington. Indeed there are but few in which, to some extent, its counterpart might not be found. And is it wonderful that prisoners should so seldom be reformed?

Rather is it not wonderful that an instance should be found, in which an individual is not made worse instead of better? Dwelling for months and years in the midst of such debasing pollutions, what is to be expected, but that "every right principle" should be "eradicated, and every base one instilled; until the wretched victim of these abuses is let loose upon society, in a ten fold degree, a more daring, desperate, and effective villain."

From these facts, it will be easy to account for the ravages which disease and death have often made in our prisons. The annual mortality in some of them has been from six to thirteen per cent. "In the State prison in New-York city, the average number of convicts for nineteen years, from 1805 to 1823, inclusive, was five hundred and twenty; the average number of deaths twenty-eight, that is, one to eighteen, or *six per cent.*" The condition of Bridewell, has been miserable in the extreme. The sick have been suffered to remain in a room with a large number of other prisoners who were committed for trial. "This wretched apartment is the common receptacle of all the males who are committed to that prison, and has contained at one time, in a common mass of drunkenness, lasciviousness, obscenity, filth, lunacy, and fever, ninety persons. The mortality in the old county prison of Philadelphia, has been still greater, and disease and death have resulted, among other causes, from one which "may not be named." It is appalling to reflect on this subject, and we will only say, that in consequence of the improper construction and the mismanagement of prisons, sickness and mortality have prevailed to a dreadful extent. That this is unnecessary, appears from the fact, that, in those prisons where proper regulations have been instituted, the deaths are diminished to two, and one per cent, and even less in some cases.

All these evils, and many more that might be mentioned, have been tolerated for years, in this country, while few have been disposed to inquire even into the fact of their existence. They have reigned, in many instances, undiminished by any redeeming influence. The physical suffering has not been mitigated by a comfortable provision for the sick and the dying, nor the moral pollution and debasement, by proper restraint and religious instruction. Should any one say, that prisons were intended to be places of punishment, and that it is therefore necessary and proper that they should be such as to inflict suffering upon the convict; we answer, that such kind and degree of punishment as is proper and consistent with justice, by no means requires that convicts should be thrown into damp and filthy cells, where their constitutions must necessarily be ruined by disease; nor crowded in gangs into the same apartments, where their over-grown depravity can

vent itself unrestrained and fearless of detection. Indeed this last particular, which is itself one of the greatest evils, and the source of a thousand others, is only gratifying the supreme desire of the basest beings. They ask no greater privilege while in prison, than to be placed together, where they can devise mischief, and concert plans of wickedness, and perpetrate whatever abominations they choose, unmolested. "It is a great point," says the Hon. Edward Livingston, "to produce the conviction of the important and obvious truth, denied only by a false economy, that prisons, where there is not a complete separation of their inhabitants, are seminaries of vice, not schools for reformation, nor even *places of punishment*." That there is great need of improvement in the discipline of prisons, then, no one who is at all acquainted with their real condition, can for a moment doubt.

We have endeavored to give a brief view of what prisons *have been*, and what, to a great extent, they still remain; though the picture, we confess, is a very faint representation of the original. It may now be asked, what *ought* they to be? And here it may be proper to remark upon the principles that should control the construction of prisons; for, as we have already hinted, much depends upon this, in respect to proper regulations for their management.

1. Prisons should be so constructed, that *a total separation of the inmates at night, can be effected*. The evils of "crowded night rooms," we have before mentioned. Solitary confinement during the night, would not only prevent these evils, but, in many cases, would be productive of good to the convicts. Removed from the noise, and oaths, and obscenity, and artful plots, and desperate proposals, with which these wretched beings, if suffered to lodge together, would regale and contaminate one another, the convict is left to his own reflections. The unbroken stillness, the solitude, the darkness,—every thing, is calculated to soften down the hardier and more desperate features of his soul; to produce a state of mind, to say the least, unfavorable to wicked purposes, and not unfrequently adapted to lead to remorse for the past, and to better resolutions for the future; and to bring him into a condition favorable to the reception of good impressions from religious instruction. If we could know all that transpires in those prisons where improvements have been introduced, we should probably find many instances in which the solitary cells have witnessed "godly sorrow, repentance unto salvation," and sincere and acceptable prayer. "I thought on my ways," may the convict say, "and turned my feet unto thy testimonies." In order to render punishment salutary, there should be in every prison, at least as many cells as prisoners. These cells should each be large enough to accommodate comfortably, one individual, and so constructed

as to prevent any communication of the prisoners with one another while thus confined. Their dimensions should be at least seven feet in length, three and a half feet in width, and seven feet in height. These are the dimensions of the cells in the Auburn prison, and are found to be sufficient to answer every desirable purpose. Should there be any variation from these dimensions, we think they should be increased rather than diminished, though never to such an extent as to admit more than one inmate.

2. Every prison should be furnished with suitable accommodations, for *employing the prisoners in useful labor during the day*. Few can endure solitary confinement night and day, for any considerable length of time. Where convicts have been sentenced to this punishment, it has generally been necessary to remove them alternately from solitude to the hospital, and then to solitude ; and it is no unfrequent occurrence for them to commit suicide in a few days, under the severity of their sufferings. A man in Maine, was sentenced to sixty-two days of solitary confinement, and to one year of hard labor, and it was necessary to remove him to the hospital four times, to enable him to endure his confinement fifty-six days ; and so weak had he become when he was removed the last time, that he could scarcely stand. Other instances of a similar nature could easily be adduced. To some this would be a light punishment, while to a far greater number, it would be almost insupportable. It is not an equitable mode of punishment, inasmuch as it operates very unequally on different individuals. It is not desirable to adopt it, even if it had the same effect upon all, because, under present regulations, it precludes opportunities for instruction. As far as the experiment has been tried in this country, it has been disapproved ; and the plan of solitary confinement at night, and hard labor by day, is now we believe, generally preferred, by those who have had most experience in the management of prisons, as being better adapted to answer the purposes of justice, and to produce reformation in the convict. It would be equally, if not more, improper to allow prisoners to spend the day together in idleness, either in their rooms, or elsewhere about the prison.

But there are other weighty reasons in favor of hard labor by day. It is the direct means of *diminishing the expenses of prisons*. That these establishments may be made to support themselves, we are warranted by facts to believe. Several prisons have done this, and no substantial reason can be assigned why all could not, with proper management, do the same. Indeed, "experience has at length demonstrated," says the late Governor Wolcott, "that with no other expenses than those which must attend the first establishment, the expenses of penal justice may be wholly avoided, without inflicting, unless for contumacy within the prison, any

physical or mental sufferings which necessarily abridge life, or impair the rational faculties."

At the same time, *labor conduces to the health of the prisoners.* This is a very important consideration. Such a mode of punishment as essentially injures the physical constitution, bespeaks a severity which justice does not require, and which humanity forbids. It also increases the public expense, is unfavorable to the reformation of the convict, and either casts him upon society, a vicious and miserable invalid, or brings him to a premature death. But active employment invigorates the bodily organs, promotes cheerfulness, and so far occupies the mind as to leave little room for melancholy, with her train of morbid attendants, to prey upon the system. And, in the case of those who have been accustomed to labor and activity, it becomes *necessary* to furnish them with employment, in order to prevent disease. Where is the justice or the policy of ruining the health of a convict, and depriving him of the power of gaining an honest subsistence, even if he were disposed? And all this, too, not with a view to any consequent good that can possibly accrue, either to the public or the individual himself, but with the certain prospect of sending him out into society, *a confirmed idler!*

But labor also *prepares convicts to maintain themselves by honest industry, when the term of their confinement has expired.* It will not only give them skill in some useful employment, but will also lead them to cultivate industrious habits. Out of two hundred and six convicts discharged from the prison at Auburn, within three years, respecting whom intelligence has been obtained, one hundred and forty-six have returned to their families, and friends, and, thus far, maintain the character of industrious and respectable citizens, and some of them, that of "decidedly pious men." This fact speaks volumes in favor of a system of hard labor during the day. It shows that such a system, (provided there is no want of discipline in other respects to counteract,) has a reformatory tendency. Indeed, we should infer this, *a priori*, from the known fact, that "it is much more difficult to prevent human beings from doing mischief when they have nothing else to do, than when they are busily and usefully employed." "The busy hum of industry, breaking upon the stillness of the scene, as heard in the prison at Auburn, is a striking contrast to the oaths and imprecations, the obscenity and pollution, the schemes of villany, and malignant soliloquies, which may be heard by the side of the solitary cells or gloomy dungeons in many prisons, where labor has not been introduced, or in those States where a part of the penalty is solitary confinement day and night without labor." But while reason and facts, compel us to advocate the system of day labor in prisons, we feel that caution is necessary in regard to the kinds

of employment introduced. They should be useful, in order that the men may follow them advantageously, when they leave prison. They should be simple, that, while they may be easily learned, they cannot be perverted to fraudulent and mischievous purposes, as might be the case with many of the more curious and complicated trades.

3. The construction of prisons should be such, that *every part of them may be easily inspected, at all times, without the knowledge of the prisoners.* This must depend upon the position and arrangement of the several parts of the establishment, particularly of the cells and work-shops. The plan upon which the prisons at Auburn and Wethersfield are constructed, renders it easy for one sentinel to guard four hundred prisoners, and preserve the most perfect order among them during the night. And while they are engaged in labor, during the day, or when they are passing from and returning to their cells, one active keeper can superintend twenty or thirty prisoners, and effectually prevent all improprieties among them. The cells are so arranged as entirely to preclude communication between them; while they may be inspected without the knowledge of the occupant. The construction of the shops, dining halls, and chapels, is such, that, when the men are all in their appropriate stations, no one will face another, and consequently every attempt to converse with each other in any way, is readily detected, by its breaking their regular position. The construction of every prison should secure these advantages.

4. It should also furnish *facilities for moral and religious instruction.* There should be a convenient chapel, where the prisoners can be assembled morning and evening, for prayers and the reading of the scriptures, and on the sabbath, for religious instruction and worship. Every convict should be furnished with a bible, and those who are unable to read, should be taught. As the principal time which they can devote to reading, will be while they are confined in their cells, these should be so formed as to admit light sufficient for that purpose. With all these precautions in the structure of the prisons, there should, if possible, be a resident chaplain, or at least, a pious, judicious and experienced warden or superintendent, who will faithfully act the part of a chaplain. No adequate instruction will ever be given, unless suitable accommodations and means, are provided for that purpose. Confinement in a prison where these are neglected, is generally but the dismal prelude to endless imprisonment in the future world.

5. Another important consideration in the structure of prisons, is *safe keeping.* This, it will be perceived, is, to some extent, involved in separation at night, labor during the day, the exclusion of all those trades which require tools that might be employed with

effect in breaking prison, strict and unceasing vigilance at all times, together with the power of easy and perfect supervision. Other things, however, are necessary, in order to render the security sufficiently perfect. Many prisons and county jails in this country, especially those in the States south of the Potomac, are destitute of courts, or any thing to prevent external communication. We have frequently seen them, with nothing between the windows and the most public streets. Hence a secret and dangerous intercourse may be carried on between prisoners and their friends; and implements, money, ardent spirits, and other means of mischief or escape, may be conveyed to the prison. Under these circumstances, it excites no surprise, to learn that escapes are frequently effected. Every prison, therefore, should have a yard inclosed by an external wall that shall effectually cut off all communication from without; and all the buildings and apartments belonging to the establishment, should be located entirely within this wall.* The prison building should also have an external wall at least two feet in thickness, and of sufficient dimensions to admit of an open space of ten or twelve feet, all around, between its internal surface, and the block of cells. In the center of this building the cells should be constructed in two parallel rows upon the ground; carried four or five stories high, and extended in length to admit of the requisite number. They should all open into the empty space above mentioned, small galleries being erected in front of the cells, so that all the prisoners on one side, at the moment of leaving them may be seen at a glance by an individual standing upon the ground at one end of this open area. The door of each cell should be secured with strong fastenings, upon the external surface of the wall beyond the reach of the prisoner. From such a situation, the convict can seldom escape; for if he succeeds in opening the door of his room, he meets the eye of the keeper at the first step; should he elude him, he must force the strong wall of the building; and even supposing him to have surmounted these difficulties, (which is scarcely possible,) he is still in the yard, where he may be secured, before he can escape.

6. Prisons should be constructed with a *due regard to health, and with suitable accommodations for the sick*. The first of these requires, that the establishment should be abundantly supplied with water; that the rooms and shops should be comfortably warmed in cold weather, and of a uniform temperature; and that all the cells should be thoroughly ventilated. Proper attention to the sick demands that every prison should have an hospital, or some convenient place to which they may be removed, and where

* At the Auburn prison, this wall is 30 feet high, inclosing a yard 500 feet square.

they may receive that attendance which their condition requires. It should be located in that part of the prison which is the most retired and salubrious. The consequences that have resulted from a want of attention to this subject, have been extremely distressing to those who, during their imprisonment, have been visited with sickness. They have lain upon the floor in all their foulness, without a bed, and often without covering, surrounded by other convicts, whose noise and profaneness and ribaldry were not restrained by the sufferings or the dying agonies of their fellow prisoners. In this miserable condition, in some instances, they have remained for days together, without a physician to prescribe or administer the necessary medicine. We can scarcely conceive of a greater calamity befalling a human being in this world, that to be "*sick and in prison,*" with none to visit him.

In these remarks, we have endeavored to point out some of the more important ends to be regarded in the construction of prisons, in order to render them places of salutary punishment, and reformation, and consequently, more consistent with all the purposes of justice.*

We now come to the inquiry, what has been done in the United States, for the improvement of prisons? In attempting to answer this question, time forbids our entering minutely into all the numerous particulars of construction and discipline; which, though of minor consequence considered in themselves, nevertheless, are important in their place as parts of a whole, any one of which being removed, would occasion a manifest deficiency. But we shall only be able to notice briefly, some of the principal benefits that have resulted, immediately or remotely, from the labors of this Society. And in doing this, we shall follow the order of topics pursued in the Report, so far as may be most adapted to our purpose.

Provision has been made, by the legislature of Maine, so to alter the State prison, as to admit of an entire separation of its inhabitants

* Our limits will not allow us to give a full and minute description of such a prison, but we would refer the reader to the first ten pages of the first annual Report of this Society, where he will find a plan exhibited in an engraving, together with explanations which will give him an ample view of a prison securing every desirable advantage. A prison so constructed as to afford the means of solitary confinement at night, and labor during the day, of easy inspection at all times, of religious instruction, of safe keeping, and of suitable attention to the sick, possesses also the additional advantage of great economy, both in relation to the space it occupies, and the expense of warming, lighting, and guarding it. "Four hundred cells will cover only 206 by 46ft. of ground. At Auburn 5 small stoves, and 6 large, and 12 small lamps, placed in the open area, in front of the cells, beyond the reach of the prisoners, afford heat and light for 555 cells; and one sentinel is found sufficient to guard 400 prisoners, and cut off all communication between them. The space in front of the cells is a perfect sounding gallery; so that a sentinel in the open area on the ground, can hear a whisper from a distant cell, in the upper story."

at night. When this shall have been accomplished, any improper intercourse between the prisoners, during this portion of time, would necessarily imply delinquency on the part of the keepers. A new building containing a chapel and dining hall, has lately been erected; so that, in regard to construction, this prison has been essentially improved. But in some other respects, it is still very defective. It continues to be far too expensive; and the system of instruction is altogether inadequate to exert that moral influence which is necessary, to afford any reasonable expectation of reforming men so depraved. If they are sunk deeper than other men, in the abyss of moral pollution, a greater power must be applied to raise them from it, or they will continue to sink till they are beyond the hope of recovery. But we trust, that there is too much feeling existing there in relation to the subject generally, to suffer these defects to be of long continuance. Application has been made to the Society for the plan of a new county prison at Bangor; and such an one was furnished as, if followed, will give them a prison securing all the advantages of economy, easy supervision, instruction, safe keeping, labor by day, and separate confinement at night. Efforts have also been made by the Society to awaken an interest in the State, in behalf of juvenile delinquents, which, it is hoped, may soon result in the establishment of a House of Refuge, for this too long neglected class of offenders.

The form of the State prison in New Hampshire, has received no improvement, nor has the State made any suitable provision for instructing the prisoners. From some favorable circumstances, however, the proportion of convicts to the population, is probably less here, than in any other State where there is a State prison; it being only forty-eight to nearly three hundred thousand inhabitants. This paucity of convicts is supposed to be owing to the wise and judicious manner in which their prison has, for several years, been managed; the comparative mildness of their criminal code, and judiciary; the security against counterfeiting, from the use of Perkin's stereotype steel plate by the banks in that State; and such a management of the alms house in their principal town, as to render it a useful institution, and not as is the case with alms houses in many other places, a nursery for the prison. We are gratified to learn that "the executive has doubled the compensation allowed for religious instruction; and authorized the appointment, which has been made, of a resident chaplain; under whose instruction a sabbath school has been organized, which is spoken of by those who have visited it, as well conducted, and, together with the public services of the sabbath, as exercising a salutary influence over the minds of the convicts." [*Report*, p. 7.]

Some attention has been excited in Vermont, which may produce

important and beneficial changes in the State prison at Windsor. At the last session of the legislature, a resolution was passed, which authorized the superintendent of that prison, to obtain a plan, and furnish an estimate of the expense, of constructing such additional apartments, as the separate confinement of the convicts at night, and the introduction of a more effective discipline, may require.

In Massachusetts, a new House of Correction has been erected at Ipswich, and the lunatics, to whose miserable condition allusion has been made, have been removed to it, greatly to their advantage and comfort. The male and female departments of the House of Correction connected with the Leveret-street Jail, in Boston, have been much improved in respect to the system of labor. The females are under the care of two pious matrons, whose devoted and faithful efforts for two or three years, though laboring under many disadvantages from the want of a work-shop, and sleeping rooms, have, nevertheless, resulted in very obvious and pleasing improvements. Their self-denial is mentioned as "worthy of all praise," and their example as deserving of imitation.

In the State prison at Charlestown, a new building for the separate lodging of three hundred convicts, is completed; the prisoners are under more restraint and better discipline than formerly, and the under officers are improved, in respect to fidelity and vigilance. The chaplain has organized a sabbath school, in which about fifty convicts are instructed. Public worship is also attended on the sabbath, by the chaplain, who likewise reads the scriptures and offers prayer in the chapel with the prisoners and officers, every morning and evening. But while there is an improvement in this prison, in several respects, much yet remains to be done, before it will present an example of order, discipline, profitable labor, and reformation, as gratifying as those exhibited in the prisons at Auburn and Wethersfield. It is believed, however, that this prison is beginning to operate as a preventive of crime; for with an increasing population, there has been a diminution of convicts in the State. Whatever may have been the occasion of this fact, it is reasonable to suppose, that, nightly solitude, rigid discipline, loss of indulgences from *over-stint*, destruction of facilities for card playing, counterfeiting, making false keys, and for devising every species of wickedness, together with the influence of moral and religious instruction, have had their full share in producing this favorable result.

The new State prison at Wethersfield, Connecticut, which was commenced in 1826, and completed and occupied in 1827, is constructed on the plan of the prison at Auburn,* and possess every

* As we have not given a particular description of the Auburn prison, it may appear improper to allude to it. But we have done so, because that,

advantage that could be expected or desired in such an establishment. It is built of stone, and is one hundred and seventy-seven feet long, forty-eight feet wide, and thirty-six feet high, containing the keeper's house, several offices, a chapel, and hospital, an apartment for female convicts, and one hundred and thirty-six cells for the prisoners. The whole expense of erecting it, was about thirty thousand dollars, which is a remarkable instance of economy in the first establishment of such an institution. The warden, (Mr. Pillsbury,) is prompt in discipline, kind and faithful in private admonition and counsel, and unwearied in his benevolent labors for the welfare of the prisoners. He assembles them morning and evening for reading the scriptures and prayer, and makes provision for public worship on the sabbath. The prison has now been in operation more than two years, and from the statement of the directors in their last report, it appears that there had been no death in sixteen months, and that no prisoner had escaped since the institution was first established. With such health, such security, such discipline, and a warden admirably qualified for his office, the warmest anticipations of its friends have, thus far, been fully realized. Indeed such is the order that reigns here, that the stillness of the night is preserved by a single watchman silently walking in front of the cells. This presents a most striking contrast to the oaths and blasphemies which issued from the old night rooms at Newgate. All this good has been accomplished with less cost than four times the annual expense of supporting the old prison, while the new establishment is vastly superior to the old in a pecuniary point of view, as well as in every other. For, while Newgate, for ten years previous to its abandonment, cost the State annually, eight thousand, four hundred dollars, the new prison for the last year, has produced an *income* of three thousand, two hundred, twenty-nine dollars and forty-one cents, above every expense; making a difference to the State of eleven thousand, six hundred and twenty-nine dollars and forty-one cents; which in three years will defray the whole expense of erecting the new prison.

In New-York, the subject of prison discipline has, for several years, been one of great interest, and the community are beginning to reap the benefit of their attention to it. The construction of the prison, and the system of discipline, which this Society recommend, have been adopted at Auburn, as well as at Wethersfield;

we believe, is the oldest prison of the kind in this country; its character is very generally known, and nearly or quite all the new prisons which have been built upon the improved method, have been modeled on the general plan of that prison. For a view and description of it, we refer the reader to the Second Annual Report of this Society, page 69.

and have been pursued in that prison for a length of time sufficient to test their utility, and the result has been most pleasing to the friends of the system. The prison contained, at the close of the last year, five hundred and seventy convicts, the income of whose labor, during the year, was \$36,908 81, while the expense of supporting the prison was 33,571 84; leaving a balance in favor of the State, of \$3,336 97, above every expense. At the same time, a remarkable degree of health has prevailed in the institution. From the physician's report, it appears that the average number of sick in the hospital, has been only one to one hundred, and the deaths, one to seventy-five, annually. These facts show that profitable labor, and good health, instead of being at variance, go hand in hand.

A sabbath school, public worship, personal religious conversation, and evening prayers, form the system of instruction pursued here, under the assiduous care of the resident chaplain, the Rev. B. C. Smith; for whose faithful and beneficial labors, the agent and inspectors acknowledge their obligations. The sabbath school contains one hundred and twenty-five members, under the superintendence of the chaplain, and is said to be a very interesting and useful institution. The whole system of discipline and instruction, is exerting a very favorable and extensive influence over the prisoners. This is very strikingly illustrated by the circumstance related in the following extract from the Report.

At midnight, during the last year, there was a cry of fire. It was soon ascertained that it was in the prison. An extensive shop filled with combustible materials, directly under the eaves of the north wing, in which were confined 550 convicts in separate cells, was in flames. The fire spread with great rapidity, and very soon communicated with the windows of the building in which the convicts were locked up, and before any progress could be made in arresting it, the flames burnt through the windows, and threatened the convicts in their night cells with suffocation. The keepers at the hazard of their lives, rushed through fire and smoke, and succeeded in unlocking every door, and discharged into the yard at midnight 550 convicts. Two avenues had now been opened to the street, through either of which the convicts might have escaped, in the confusion of passing water, and the passing and repassing of citizens. Instead, however, of attempting to escape, they formed a most efficient fire company, extinguishing the flames, and when this was done, were found in their places; no one having attempted to escape. The chaplain, in view of this fact, says, "my attachment to my people is constantly increasing." p. 23.

That such regulations, and such a course of instruction and discipline, should prove reformatory, is not only a matter of theory, but of fact.

Intelligence has been received, during the last year, in answer to letters addressed to post masters and sheriffs, in all parts of the State of New-York, concerning two hundred and six discharged convicts; of whom one hun-

dred and forty-six are reformed. Concerning many of the one hundred and forty-six here mentioned, information has been received three years in succession, giving them the same character; and some of them the character of decidedly pious men. Three years ago, this system of inquiry concerning discharged convicts was first instituted. The first year, it brought favorable returns concerning fifty-two; the second year concerning one hundred and twelve; and the third year, as already stated, concerning one hundred and forty-six.

There is another class of facts proving the same thing concerning the reformatory character of the prison at Auburn. The re-commitments in 1827, out of four hundred and twenty-seven were only nineteen. And in 1829, out of five hundred and seventy, only seventeen. pp. 23, 24.

In the prison at Sing Sing, thirty-five miles above the city of New-York, the number of cells has been doubled during the past year, making the whole number eight hundred. Commodious preparations have been made for erecting workshops, and a chapel. The plan of the building is similar to that of the Auburn prison.

The deaths in the institution, even after a large number of sick convicts had been removed to it from New-York, were only three per cent.; only sixteen having died the last year, of whom nine were among those removed from New-York, while among more than five hundred others, only five have died, or less than one per cent. In the old prison at New-York whence the above mentioned sick convicts were removed, the annual mortality was from six to ten per cent. for a number of years.

The Rev. Mr. Barrett, the resident chaplain, usually attends one religious service on the sabbath, and morning and evening prayers; and also devotes much time to private instruction. He is teaching the ignorant convicts to read, with no other book than the bible, of which every prisoner has a copy; and the more intelligent he encourages and assists in committing to memory the scriptures, and in understanding their meaning. The Report before us presents a tabular view, furnished by Mr. Barrett, of the daily progress of one of these ignorant beings, in learning to read from the bible. The result of this view is, that one who was totally unacquainted with the alphabet, in the short space of thirty-six days was able to read correctly the first chapter of Genesis. He also furnished a tabular view of the recitations of thirty-five prisoners, in which it appears that they recited from memory, within the period of eighteen weeks, nineteen thousand three hundred and twenty-eight verses of scripture; and that one man had committed to memory sixteen hundred and five verses in seventeen weeks, and a number of others had committed about one thousand verses each. When this prison shall be completed, and in full operation, we may look to it for an example of order, restraint, and reformation, equally interesting with that which has been exhibited in any other similar establishment.

On the general plan of the Auburn prison, the city of New-York has commenced an institution for the vicious poor of the city, on Blackwell's Island, which has been purchased for that purpose. The State is making arrangements to build a new prison for female convicts, which shall be in no respect inferior in its construction, discipline and moral influence, to the prisons at Auburn and Wethersfield. Many pious and devoted individuals of both sexes, and of different christian denominations in New-York, have been engaged in a sabbath school in the prison at Greenwich; and such was the zeal of these servants of Jesus, and such their love for these perishing souls, that, when a part of the convicts were removed to Bellevue, they followed, "or rather preceded them, to make provision for their instruction and employment," and are now pursuing with unwearied assiduity, their benevolent labors.

In regard to other prisons, the public are beginning to feel an interest in their improvement. Something has already been accomplished in different parts of the country, which leads us to hope, that the work of reform will not cease, till it can be said with emphasis, of every prison in the United States, and in the world; *it is what it ought to be.* The Legislature of New-Jersey, in revising the laws respecting the state prison, adopted one provision among others of the new law, authorizing the annual payment of one hundred and fifty dollars, from the state treasury, towards supporting a permanent chaplain in the prison at Lamberton; thereby relieving the Prison Discipline Society from the appropriation of that sum, which they have made for two years past for the same purpose. A new building has been erected in the penitentiary at Baltimore, on a plan suggested by an agent of the Prison Discipline Society, which furnishes the facilities of separately confining the prisoners at night, and of an improved system of discipline in every respect. The keeper is making arrangements for a sabbath school; for more thorough and systematical instruction during the other hours of the sabbath; and for morning and evening prayers, with reading the scriptures, on every day in the week. For several years this has been the most productive prison in the country. The annual income of the labor of three hundred and fifty nine convicts, is nine thousand eight hundred and four dollars. And, for five successive years under the management of Mr. Owen, the income has greatly exceeded the expenditures; "so that the penitentiary has now an active capital, principally the proceeds of its own earnings, of \$76,927.06." A new penitentiary, on the plan of the Auburn prison, has also been completed at Washington, D. C.

We come now to a subject, in which we confess ourselves deeply interested; and in respect to which, this society if they had done nothing else, deserve the public gratitude, so far as their ef-

forts have had a connection with it. We allude to the establishment of Houses of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders. The rescue of so many youth and children, from the deep debasement, the unutterable pollution, and the certain ruin, to which they were exposed in the old penitentiaries, and placing them in a course of instruction and discipline which will make them respectable, and and useful, and happy, is an act of philanthropy to which we yield our unqualified admiration; and which we cannot view but as of incalculable benefit, not only to the individuals themselves, but to the whole community. When we consider the circumstances of these youth before convicted of any crime, with the general character of their offenses; their condition while in prison, with the unhappy consequences of their confinement; and their situation in the House of Refuge, with the salutary results of its discipline, we see not why justice as well as humanity, should not only be perfectly satisfied with the change, but rejoice in it. The events of their early years have been adverse to a course of virtue, and have often directly impelled them into the ways of vice. "In most instances they have no inveterate habits to extirpate," for the ever varying current of circumstances has borne them about in all the wildness of nature. "Their lives exhibit a series of aberrations from regularity, a train of accidents that has rendered them the victims of temptation and the sport of adversity." Instead of having their wants seasonably supplied, they have been left with precarious means of subsistence, to combat with hunger, cold, and nakedness by the efforts of their own ingenuity. "Every thing about them has been various and unsettled, and in the unfortunate hour of temptation, while under the pressure of want, or when reduced into the giddy vortex of depraved passions, they have offended against the laws and been sentenced to the State Prison." "The youth of populous cities are peculiarly exposed to crime, many of them are almost driven to it by necessity. A portion of them are without parents or natural friends; others are in a still worse condition, having parents who by precept and example encourage them to vicious courses; and some, perhaps not a few, are the instruments of more guilty fathers and mothers, who profit by the depredation committed by their children. These unhappy little victims of neglect, or shameful abuse of authority, are hardly proper subjects of punishment—their offenses are not their own—they have never been taught the laws of God or man, or if they have, it has been only that they may despise them." And yet these are the children many of them only eight or ten years old, who have been immured by hundreds, in our prisons, where their condition, as we have already remarked, has been dreadful in the extreme. It is a matter of astonishment that until within a few years, "no measures have been taken to look into this

great affair, and to adopt some plan which shall lessen if not cure the enormous evil of juvenile punishment without reformation." It is with unmingled satisfaction that we lay before our readers, the result of the efforts which have recently been made on this momentous subject.

The House of Refuge in the city of New-York, located two miles north of the city Hall, has been in operation more than four years, and in that time has received five hundred and fifty-three children, among whom there has been but *one death* during the whole time, and that from an unnatural cause. During the last year, it has received to its parental care, one hundred and fifty-nine subjects, which together with one hundred and sixty-one who were there at the commencement of the year, and seventeen who returned, makes the whole number during the year, three hundred and thirty-seven; of whom one hundred and forty-eight were apprenticed to respectable farmers and mechanics, generally at a distance in the country. The whole number who have been admitted to the instruction and discipline of the house, and afterwards apprenticed with fair prospects of respectability and usefulness, is *four hundred and forty*, who, without the privileges of this institution, had nothing before them but a life of vice and infamy. The discipline of the house has received much improvement since last year, and the effects of it are particularly visible in the day and sabbath schools. The employment of the children is a source of profit as well as of health. One hundred and twenty boys, from six to nineteen years of age, earn during their working hours, each twelve and a half cents per day, which is only a fraction less than the whole daily expense of supporting each convict in the Connecticut State prison. In regard to the influence exerted upon the minds of these children, the Report before us says,

The moral discipline and instruction, as seen in the sabbath school, in the chapel at public worship, at the morning and evening devotions, and at meal time, is the most interesting part to a christian. The reformatory effects are encouraging. Out of four hundred and forty apprenticed, less than twenty are out of place, or have failed to answer the fond expectations of their benefactors. p. 28.

There is also a House of Refuge in Philadelphia, which commenced its operations the past year, with seventy children. Its prospects of success are highly flattering, and its influence is beginning to be felt even in its infancy; the number of cases of prosecution among juvenile delinquents having diminished perceptibly since its establishment.

A meeting was recently held in Baltimore, for the purpose of consultation respecting the establishment of a House of Refuge in

that city, and a committee of five appointed, to report at an adjourned meeting.

The House of reformation for juvenile delinquents at South Boston, is a most interesting and useful institution, and its character is even improving. It has an average number of about one hundred members, one tenth of whom are females. "The whole number received from August 1826, to January 1829, was one hundred and ninety-two." They were committed for theft; for vagrancy; for stubbornness, disobedience, and idleness; and for wanton and lascivious behaviour. These causes of commitment are mentioned as warnings to others, and to show the evil resulting from neglect of family government in parents, and from indulging a stubborn and disobedient temper on the part of the child. These are the immediate cause of the arrest of sixty out of one hundred and forty, and it is probable that they are the indirect cause of many more. Many of these little thieves and vagabonds, could their progress be traced back, would undoubtedly be found to have commenced their career with disobedience on their part, or neglect on that of their parents. This appears "not only from the records of the institution," but from the surprising change of character which restraint and instruction produces in them.

In a few weeks, says the Report, their habits of stubbornness and disobedience are subdued, and other kindred vices, such as swearing, lying, and angry feelings, are changed for comparatively pure conversation, truth and affection; and they are then apprenticed to good and industrious farmers and mechanics, where in a vast majority of cases they behave well.
p. 12.

In what manner these changes are produced with so much certainty and with so little delay, may be known in part from the division of time, and the system of classification for moral discipline.

Division of Time.

From 6 o'clock, A. M. 3-4 of an hour for recreation.
From 3-4 past 6, 3-4 of an hour for religious exercises.
From 1-2 past 7, 1-2 an hour for breakfast.
From 8 o'clock, 2 hours for instruction in school.
From 10 o'clock, 2 3-4 hours for labor.
From 3-4 past 12, 3-4 of an hour for recreation.
From 1-2 past 1, 1-2 an hour for dinner.
From 2 o'clock, 2 3-4 hours for labor.
From 3-4 past 4, 3-4 of an hour for recreation.
From 1-2 past 5 o'clock, 1-2 an hour for supper.
From 6 o'clock, 2 hours for instruction in school.
From 8 o'clock, 1-2 an hour for religious exercises.
From 1-2 past 8 o'clock, P. M. 9 1-2 hours for retirement.
Sleep till 6 o'clock, A. M.
The hour for rising is much earlier in summer. p. 12.

We have given this division of time entire, because here the several periods of time for religious exercises, eating, instruction in school, labor, and retirement, "are distinctly marked and wisely proportioned," and may be beneficial to others, as well as show definitely one of the excellencies of this useful institution. We believe it is not too much to say that every part of its discipline and management is marked with the same judiciousness and wisdom. This Report also presents a full view of the system of "classification for moral discipline," which "appears to indicate that discrimination in regard to character, and that careful adjustment of rewards and punishments," which are calculated to produce the happiest results. We would gladly favor our readers with this system entire, but time forbids, and we will only add the testimony of a distinguished individual* who visited the institution by invitation of the Directors.

We first saw the boys, in the whole about ninety, distributed in groups in different apartments, all diligently employed in some useful handicraft—cheerful and busy, in their working clothes, and under the superintendence of one of their number who acted as monitor. The girls, about fifteen, were at work by themselves, under a woman teaching them to sew. After a walk about the grounds, we returned to the house, and found all the boys with their frugal dress-suits on, ready for examination by the superintendent—they marched into the school-room in military order, like young recruits—perfectly clean, and in a plain uniform, made at the house, consisting of a jockey, blue jacket, and white trowsers, the cost of a suit being but one dollar.

In this examination, I could see nothing different from what takes place at our common schools. In geography, grammar, minor arithmetic, they seem to me to answer as well—in the elements of religion and morals they appeared to have been instructed. They followed the master in one or two simple hymns, in a low voice, literally making a concord of sweet sounds. And at a signal they fell upon their knees in the most perfect order, and made regular responses to a part of the church service performed by the Rev. Mr. Wells, of the Episcopal clergy, who is instructor, task master, chaplain, every thing in this most interesting establishment. And there never was a man whom gentleness, firmness, zeal, and enthusiasm in a good cause, better qualified to do this great service to the public.

After this, we resorted to the gymnasium, and sure I am that no boys from the best schools in our city could have shown more heart in their merry gambols—so that after this scene, and seeing them at table with their generous and wholesome food, which they attacked as boys should do, it was apparent that this mighty change in their condition was produced without any of that austerity which sometimes kills in the attempt to cure.

I came away delighted with this—prison shall I call it? No—school of reformation, for such it is, and ought to be for such subjects.

* Understood to be the Chief Justice of Massachusetts. A description of the House, written by this gentleman after his visit to it, was published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, of 1823. See also Rep. III. P. D. Soc. pp. 25, 26.

Some important facts are stated in this Report, on the subject of imprisonment for debt, which have been ascertained by a minute examination of the records of several prisons in Massachusetts. Of these we have room only for a summary. We sincerely hope that the investigations in relation to this subject will not cease, till it is satisfactorily ascertained whether the laws respecting debtors need revision; and if so, we trust legislators and lawgivers will do their duty.

We have stated these facts, says the Report, on the subject of imprisonment for debt, rather to open the subject for farther investigation, and to call public attention to it, than because we think that any thing like a thorough investigation has been made on a subject which causes the imprisonment in the United States, according to the best estimates we are able to make, of seventy-five thousand persons annually.

The sums for which they are imprisoned, more than one half of them, are less than twenty dollars; while the costs are more than one half the original debts, and in many other cases quadruple the debts; and the time lost in prison, sometimes at thirty, and sometimes at sixty cents per day, would pay the debts; and the amount paid in comparison with the amount of debts, is sometimes one dollar to eighty-five, and in other cases not one to one hundred and forty; while about one third part are discharged in Massachusetts, because they have nothing to pay, and another third because their board is not paid by the creditor, as the law requires. In all this, we have said nothing of the moral influence of the prisons, upon the seventy-five thousand persons, who are thus annually introduced to a world of criminals. pp. 17, 18.

The manner in which many of our poor-houses are managed, or we should rather say mismanaged, is alluded to in this Report, as productive of great evil. Facts respecting their corrupt and debasing state, have been ascertained from careful investigation, which are of such a character as forbid a public disclosure; but which produce the irresistible conviction that the fifty thousand dollars which has for many years been annually appropriated by the State of Massachusetts, "besides what is done in the towns for the support of paupers," are in many cases worse than wasted. The poor are indeed fed and sustained by it in a sort of physical existence, but they are greatly injured in regard to morals, by the improper manner in which they are kept. Speaking of poor-houses in some of the larger towns, the Report says,

They are nearly as injurious in their influence as the old penitentiaries: not on the arts of mischief; but on the low and corrupting vices. There is sometimes not even a separation of the sexes. We might specify large and extensive establishments, which are now, what the old alms house in Boston was, a few years ago.—The people of the towns would not countenance such things, if they were known; and the State would not appropriate its thousands annually for the support of establishments, which are nuisances, as much as the old State prison. They are nurseries of vice. They are sometimes introductory to, and sometimes receptacles from the

prison. There is often an alternation from alms house to prison, and prison to alms house. p. 18.

The Society, with much labor and patient investigation, has prepared an abstract of the Criminal Laws of twelve States, with general remarks upon them; which we consider as a very valuable document, occupying twenty-three closely printed octavo pages, and embodying in a condensed form, important information, which could not be otherwise obtained without examining innumerable volumes of statute books and other works. The several remarks upon this abstract are,

1. The inequality of the laws in regard to capital punishments.
 2. The inequality of the punishments for those crimes, which in some of the States are, and in others are not, punished with death.
 3. "The disproportion between the penalty for passing counterfeit money and adultery." In illustration of this remark we would mention one instance. In Virginia, the penalty for passing or offering to pass counterfeit coin or bank notes, with intent to defraud, is *imprisonment at hard labor not less than seven nor more than twenty years*; while adultery, that destroyer of all domestic peace and felicity, is punished with a *fine of twenty dollars*!
 4. The fourth remark is, "the importance of having the laws made known."—"How few of those who may be subject to the penalty of the law, know what the law is? How few indeed even know what crimes are punished with death? The subject is so much in the dark, that probably few of the more intelligent part of our citizens could give any thing like a correct statement of the principal provisions of the criminal law, in the State in which they live. Mr. Livingston, suggests that this is a subject which should be made familiar in the common schools; and why not? In one short reading lesson, the criminal law of a given State, in an abstract form, might be comprehended, in its principal provisions. Why not then make this momentous subject familiar to all classes, from infancy to manhood? The thought of having human beings subject to the awful punishment of death, or even to that of imprisonment for life, for crimes committed in an hour of passion, the penalty of which they never understood, is revolting to the feelings of humanity. And yet this is the consequence of suffering the criminal law to remain amidst other laws in statute books, which the common people never see, without bringing it out in some form, in which it shall be made known to them.
 5. The last remark is, "the importance of having the language of the law so plain, that the common people can understand it."
- The plain English of the words is what they most need, who are most liable to the penalty annexed to crime, provided the penalty is to have any effect in deterring from the commission of crime. A religious service in Latin, is as good among the American people, who do not understand it, as the criminal law in latinized words, to those who may be subject to the penalty, but do not understand such words. The laws ought therefore to be made, and made known, in plain English."

Having seen what prisons have been, and what with a few exceptions, they still remain; having considered what they should be,

and what improvements have been made through the efforts of this Society; we shall now consider some of the remoter benefits which may result from its labors.

1. *Improvements in the criminal laws* may be hoped from its influence. The Society has shown that these laws need to be revised; and when men discover obvious defects in whatever seriously affects the welfare of any class of the community, they will endeavor to remove those defects. Hence it is reasonable to expect, that, if the defects of the criminal codes have been made sufficiently apparent, important changes may be made in them.

Experiments prove that reformation among prisoners greatly depends upon the construction of the prisons, thereby showing an important "*connection between architecture and morals*," which may be employed with the happiest effects in alms houses, manufacturing and other establishments, where large numbers of individuals are collected together, and exposed to various temptations. And even in colleges, academies, boarding schools, and large families, the same principles might be applied greatly to the promotion of purity and order. These principles of architecture are applicable not only to dormitories, and other private apartments, but also to dining halls, workshops, and school rooms. These should be adapted to the most economical division of time, to order, and to good impressions on the mind. Such a construction as shall present the least impediment to the regular and necessary movements of those who are to occupy them; shall prevent the possibility of escaping inspection; and make the rooms light, airy, symmetrical, and neat, will have great influence in securing these desirable objects.

2. The inquiries of "this Society show the *value of labor* not only as a means of support, but as an auxiliary to virtue." This is forcibly illustrated by contrasting those prisons whose inhabitants have been kept in idleness, with the reformed prisons where labor has been introduced and systematically prosecuted. The former are expensive; the latter, support themselves. The one is profligate and abandoned; the other comparatively moral and orderly. Of this class, the prisons at Auburn, Wethersfield, and Sing Sing, and the houses of Refuge at Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, are delightful instances; of the other, most of the old State prisons and county jails, are true, but dreadful examples. It is the testimony of experience, that evil can be prevented more easily among one hundred men who are busily employed, than among one tenth of that number who have nothing to do.

3. We are here furnished with instructive facts in *domestic economy*. Among the interesting facts which have been brought to light, we select the following. The boys in the House of Refuge at South Boston are neatly clad, and each suit costs but ninety-

eight cents; and the daily expense of food and clothing for each is estimated at nine cents, while a considerable number of them earn ten cents a day, during the seasons for labor, which occupy only five hours and a half of each day. The whole daily expense of supporting the prisoners at Wethersfield, including medical attendance, instruction, and pay of officers, as well as food, clothing, and bedding, is thirteen cents and four mills each; while in the House of Refuge in New-York, one hundred and forty boys, from six to nineteen years of age, earn twelve and a half cents each per day.

These and similar facts are the "results of invaluable experiments on man," from which individuals, families, and institutions may derive important benefit. Were the principle, so far as it may be applicable, introduced into colleges, academies, and other public institutions, many might obtain an education who are now debarred from the privilege by the want of means. And many families might be greatly relieved from a heavy burden of expense for the support of children in public schools.

4. In the facts before us we see *the importance of unceasing vigilance* in government. In all institutions whether for instruction, or labor, or punishment, it will be found that, other things being equal, the order and prosperity of the subjects, will be in proportion to the vigilance and promptitude of the government. This may be seen in the family, in the common school, and in almost every establishment where any control is necessary; and it is most forcibly illustrated in prisons. We have only to contrast the old prisons where the government was lax and inefficient, with some of the improved prisons, to be fully convinced of the truth of this remark. The keeper of a county prison may, and generally does pursue some occupation which requires him to be absent a considerable portion of the time. The prisoners are therefore left to the unrestrained indulgence of their vicious propensities, and the consequence is, "confusion and every evil work." And yet vigilance in county prisons seems to be generally considered as unnecessary. But this is a mistake which greatly needs correction, for these prisons are too often "nurseries of vice." Let a vigilant government be maintained in families and schools, factories and workshops, as well as in prisons, and idleness and disorder and profaneness would soon disappear.

In the inquiries of this society are exhibited also *the necessity of family government*. Neglect of this has been the ruin of many, and "among the causes of crime, stands next to intemperance," and is not unfrequently the cause of it. Many a convict in the State Prison, commenced his career of vice in filial disobedience or parental neglect. The confessions of some, and the known circumstances of others, place this beyond all doubt. The fact also,

that about one third of all the youth in the House of Refuge in Boston have been committed for contumacy and disobedience, (and the commitment of a large portion of others might probably be traced to the same origin) shows how extensive and calamitous is the influence of this evil.

5. *The cause of temperance* is also promoted by this society. We are not prepared fully to appreciate the value of temperance, without taking into view at the same time, the destructive consequences of *intemperance*. In the interior of prisons may be found fearful evidence of the ravages of this evil. Here are annually confined thousands of its victims, where they are hid from the observation of the community, and but for the researches of this society many of the evils of intemperance would have remained in obscurity. The facts which have been disclosed, furnish the most weighty arguments in favor of temperance. We will briefly notice a few of these facts. It appears from the records of one prison in Boston, that twenty-eight individuals of both sexes, had been committed for drunkenness *eighty-seven* times in less than one year; some of whom had been committed from two to seven times, and not unfrequently they were arrested within five days after their discharge. The time lost in prison in these cases, was thirty-two years, and the expense of supporting these twenty-eight drunkards, at two dollars a week, for the time mentioned, was three thousand three hundred and twenty dollars. It is calculated that the number of individuals annually imprisoned for debt in the United States, principally in consequence of the intemperate use of ardent spirits, is fifty thousand; and the whole expense attending their imprisonment, is reckoned at one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand criminals annually committed to prison in the United States, not less than three fourths owe their imprisonment directly or indirectly to intemperance; and the whole expense incurred by thirty days confinement of ninety three thousand seven hundred and fifty criminals, is estimated at three millions six hundred sixty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine dollars.* These overwhelming arguments against intemperance are found in prisons. "A society whose constant endeavor is to trace the connection between intemperance and crime, is useful in promoting temperance."

6. This society also promotes the better *observance of the sabbath*. If we go through the United States, we shall find it true to a lamentable extent, that in prisons and jails, there is no sabbath. This day is not only not observed as it should be, but is profaned and polluted to an alarming degree. Were all the prisons con-

* The statements may be found more at large, on the 65th page of the Report.

structed and governed like those at Auburn, Wethersfield, and Sing Sing, the ten thousand human beings who are constantly confined in them, would be found seriously and profitably spending the sabbath, in attending the sabbath school or on public worship, or in reading the bible, instead of abusing this sacred day, by gambling, profaneness and profligacy. And the two hundred thousand who are leaving our prisons every year to go abroad in society, would exert upon others a favorable, instead of a pernicious influence. Will any one say, that prisoners cannot be expected to pay much attention to the sabbath, and that it is of no great consequence whether they regard it or not? True, it cannot be expected of them, while they continue to be neglected as they have been. But is it of little consequence in the view of Him who sees alike those that are in prison and those who are not, whether ten thousand of his creatures sanctify or profane his holy day? And is it of little consequence to the interests of society, whether two hundred thousand of its members have been taught to reverence or to abuse the sabbath?

7. We here see *the value of solitude*. The facts in regard to the importance of solitary confinement at night, and the remarks on the connection between architecture and morals,* are also illustrative of this point. The fact that "the great and the worthy, the pious and the virtuous, have ever been addicted to *serious retirement*," testifies to the importance of occasional solitude. But there are not a few who seem to consider solitude as an intolerable burden instead of a delightful privilege; as necessary only for the student, the philosopher, the statesman, the ecclesiastic; forgetting that, as intellectual and moral beings who are bound to make the highest attainments in every excellence which their circumstances will permit, it is equally necessary for themselves. Such individuals are most in danger of suffering from the want of solitude, and could any considerations be presented to lead them occasionally from the bustle of life, into the silence of retirement, it would be putting them in possession of a most valuable blessing. Whether it is true or not in all cases, that in solitude the mind is necessarily led to meditation, and accustomed to *think*; that the charms of truth are unfolded with "superior splendor," and "the important value of time" taught "with the happiest effect;" that the taste is refined, the conceptions of the mind elevated, and its powers enlarged; that the force of those tormenting passions which disturbed the tranquillity of the soul is diminished, and the mind rendered superior to the vicissitudes and miseries of life; whether, in solitude, all this is accomplished for the other members of the

* See Report, pp. 54—60.

human family or not, "it is now admitted as an axiom, that little or nothing can be done for the benefit of those who are found in prison, without a time and place for solitude." The value of it to this class of individuals, is very great, and the effects of it upon their hearts, as those have testified who have visited the reformed prisons, are beyond any thing they had before conceived. Were there no other result from these admirable institutions, than a deeper impression upon the public mind of the value of solitude in leading vicious individuals to reflection and remorse for the past, to form resolutions of living a better life, to study the bible and to listen to good advice, they would be of great use to the world.

8. We see here exhibited THE EXCELLENCE OF THE BIBLE. In those prisons where the bible has been introduced and accompanied with proper instruction, there is evidence that this is the best of books. What other book, from its simplicity, is so well adapted to the capacity of the ignorant? What other, from the nature and variety of the subjects, the history, the poetry, the beauty and sublimity, the warnings and consolations, the threatenings and promises, which it contains, and above all, from the solemn sanctions with which it comes to men, can compare with the bible? The answer is plain. "No other book, nor all other books together, could supply the place of the bible in prison." None could subdue these rebellious spirits, nor impose restraints upon them, nor teach them their ruined condition, nor excite in their wretched bosoms the hope, "full of immortality," like the bible. Take from prisons the bible, and you leave a void which nothing else can fill. The prisons at Auburn, Wethersfield, and Sing Sing, are living witnesses to the truth of this remark. A large proportion of the prisoners may be found on the sabbath and at other times, reading the scriptures in the solitude of their cells. In the prison at Wethersfield, a person, from curiosity looked into the cells of thirty-six convicts, and all without exception, and without the knowledge of each other, were employed in reading the bible. So great was their interest in this employment, that they had deferred their supper in order to occupy the time in reading, till the darkness of night prevented them—thus preferring the word of God to "their necessary food." If the bible has power thus to charm the most heedless, and subdue the most obstinate, and reform the most profligate, and inspire with hope the most forlorn, and cheer the most wretched of human beings, it possesses a value pre-eminent above all other books.

9. The labors of this Society show the importance of *sabbath schools*. On inquiry it is ascertained, that very few who have been regular members of sabbath schools, are to be found in prison. We learn from those who have much to do with criminals, both in Europe and in this country, that these schools exert a

powerful influence in preventing crime. Their effects are seen not only in this way, but in reforming criminals, wherever they have been brought under the influence of such institutions. Sabbath schools have been organized in several of the State prisons. In the Houses of Refuge in Boston and New-York, the number of scholars in all is nearly nine hundred, under the care of about sixty teachers; and the effect is visible in the order and sobriety of conduct, the more sacred observance of the sabbath, the more diligent and systematic study of the bible, and in the docility, gratitude and affection for their teachers, among the convicts. A deep interest is also felt by the teachers in their scholars, and the expressions of affection are strong and mutual; "the teachers wondering why they have never felt for this class of men before, and the convicts feeling that they have, at last, found friends." These facts exhibit an efficacy and a value in these institutions, which should give a new impulse to the exertions, and increase the confidence of all who are laboring to promote their interests.

10. "This Society, without thwarting the purposes of justice, *calls into action the sympathetic and compassionate feelings of man towards his fellow.*" This is an article in which are embodied facts, which it would seem impossible for a benevolent heart to contemplate without deep emotion, and we cannot forbear quoting the language of the Report in full.

Were it not for some such operation as this, it might not only be unfelt but unknown, that there are in the United States about 300 lunatics, 500 youth and children, 1000 females, 10,000 of all classes, in prison at the same time; and in the lapse of a single year, about 125,000 criminals, and 75,000 debtors, committed to prison. Much more would it be unfelt and unknown, how friendless are these lunatics in prison; how miserable their condition; how incurable they become, if they do not soon die, in consequence of their dreadful malady, when aggravated by imprisonment. Even with the operations of this Society, we know not how much time must elapse, before this wretched class of prisoners will excite so much commiseration as to cause other provision to be made for them. Five hundred youth and children, too, might have remained for ages, in the old penitentiaries, subject to the brutal passions of old offenders, and no houses of refuge for juvenile delinquents have been provided for them, except for the publicity which has been given to the facts in regard to the unutterable abominations to which they have been exposed. One thousand females, also, among whom are daughters once promising, wives with husbands and children living, and mothers with infant children in their arms, might have remained in prison, and may still remain there a long time, before it shall be felt generally that female commiseration, prayer and corresponding effort, can find scope for its ever active spirit within the walls of prisons. This would not be because the same heart which was first at the sepulchre of Him, who was anointed to preach liberty to the captive, does not remain on earth; but because it has been so extensively unknown that there were so many females in prison. And 10,000 persons of all classes might have remained in prison, and every year 125,000 criminals and 75,000 debtors might be committed to prison, and still this might

remain a subject so unimportant, and uninteresting, as not to excite the commiseration of the public, were no publicity to be given to the facts concerning it. pp. 68, 69.

Having thus endeavored to give as brief and impartial a view as possible, of the condition of prisons, of what they ought to be, and of the improvements that have been made; of the indirect influence, and immediate consequences of this Society's labors, we close our remarks upon the report before us—a Report containing much valuable information; in the perusal of which we have been deeply interested, and which we sincerely wish might be read by every patriot, philanthropist, and christian, throughout this nation. For we believe, that, were the facts in regard to prisons known, there are hearts that would feel, and hands that would labor in behalf of an object so benevolent and noble, as that which this Society is laboring to accomplish. Indeed who, with the facts and circumstances of the case before him, can remain indifferent in relation to a cause like this? Who, that possesses the common sensibilities of our nature, does not feel his heart moved with compassion for the miseries of the thousands of prisoners in our land? And who, that knows any thing of their wretchedness, can sit unconcerned, without incurring great guilt in the sight of heaven?

This Society comes among us on its message of mercy, to instruct and reform our kindred, to make them happy and restore them again to the bosom of their families and friends—it comes like an almoner of heaven, to cheer the wretched, and guide the wanderer back to the paths of wisdom and virtue. Our readers will remember, that the evils arising from mismanagement, and the benefits resulting from a wise course of discipline, are not limited in their influence to the walls of prisons, but are connected with the good order and happiness of the whole community. Every member of society, therefore, should feel, that so far as he has a personal interest in the public peace and safety, he has also an equal interest in the regulation of prisons; and should promptly act in aid of every proper measure, to make them places of salutary punishment and reformation.

But it is our magistrates and legislators, on whom the most solemn responsibilities rest, in relation to this subject. Supported by the opinion and voice of the public, and vested with the requisite authority, to them we look for the exertion of a power, that shall carry light and order into those dwellings of darkness and confusion. "*PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS PÆNA, NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA,*"* is a sentiment, which should be inscribed upon the walls of every prison, and engraven upon the hearts of all who have any concern in their management or control.

* To restrain the bad by punishment, without reforming them by discipline, is of but little moment.

ART. II.—REVIEW OF LETTERS ON REVIVALS OF RELIGION.

*Dr Porter or Mitchell.**Letters of an English Traveller, to his friend in England, on the Revivals of Religion in America. Boston. Bowles & Dearborn. 1828.*

It is a common remark, that a wise man will listen to what his enemies say of him. Their report, though false, may be supposed often to have so far the semblance of truth, as to indicate the points at which he is most vulnerable. For the same reason it may be useful for the friends of religion, to know what representations of it are made by its enemies; and especially what is said concerning it in those favored seasons, when it appears in its most powerful influence. If errors or indiscretions occur in revivals of religion, the enemies of these revivals will not fail to expose them; and if there are means on which their progress especially depends, these also will be discovered, and the very uneasiness with which they are regarded, may encourage their friends to press them with the more decision. It is with the hope of deriving this practical use from the work before us, that we have placed its title at the head of this article.

That these letters are the production of an enemy of revivals, the author himself would not deny. That they were written by an English traveler, however, no attentive reader will believe. They have nothing more than the patch work of an English costume; and would certainly do but little credit to a scholar, trained, as the writer would be understood to have been, at an English university. We greatly mistake if they are not the effusions of an unhappy mind, which has once felt a deeper interest in the scenes pretended to be described, than a passing traveler can be supposed to possess. They are at least sufficiently marked with bitterness to indicate such an origin; and if we are right in our conjecture, they may be regarded as a fearfully monitory specimen of the rancorous hatred against the gospel, which that person may be expected to indulge, who, "after he has received the knowledge of the truth," wilfully resists and overcomes his convictions of it. After these remarks, our readers will not be surprised to be told that these letters are, in no respect, what they profess to be. The title page bespeaks an account of revivals of religion *in America*; but in fact, with only the exception of a few sentences, alluding to revivals in the State of New-York, they are confined to those which have occurred *in New-England*. Nor are the revivals in New-England which they are intended to expose, such as are claimed to occur at camp-meetings, and midnight assemblies for prayer (which are comparatively tolerable in the writer's view) but only to those, as he hastens to inform us, which are found "in the *Calvinistic churches* of New-England." Nor do they contain a single description of

any particular revival in these churches; but only a group of such things concerning the revivals in them generally, as would best suit the purpose of holding them up to reproach; and even such things as are selected, are not brought into comparison with the scriptures as the standard of true religion, but with a philosophical scheme, as well adapted to the faith of a heathen moralist, as to that of a christian divine. We do not wish to be understood as saying, that none of the facts which are here referred to, have occurred in revivals of religion. This we have no occasion to assert. They may all have occurred, and yet the description be false. A caricature must of course have traces of resemblance. Nor is it, on account of these, the less untrue. Indeed these, whether it be a picture or a description, are essential to the false impression which it is intended to make; since it is by means of these, that it veils the real excellence which the subject of it is supposed to possess, under the more prominent and monstrous features with which they are associated. Such is the most favorable view which we are able to take of the description given of revivals in these letters; and we have only to lament that the world is full of persons who are disposed to take the unsightly caricature, as a transcript of the divine original.

We shall not try the temper of our readers by any induction of passages from these letters, in illustration of our remarks. This would only be a repetition of the same kind of invective, as the greater part of them must have often heard, and as all who are acquainted with the real character of revivals in our churches, know how to appreciate. We shall be more gratefully, and we hope more usefully employed, in directly vindicating some of the more important things pertaining to revivals, which these letters are intended to impugn; gladly availing ourselves, as we proceed, of any hints which they afford, as to indiscretions or errors which may exist, during these sacred seasons of joy to our churches.

A REVIVAL OF RELIGION can be no other than the increase of holiness among a people. In its more appropriate meaning, it denotes, not that gradual and imperceptible increase which may ordinarily be expected under the faithful ministration of the gospel; but a peculiar influence, generally and in most instances, suddenly pervading a congregation or neighborhood. Christians manifest a tenderness of conscience, a contrition for their negligences and sins, and a zeal, unity and consistency in the discharge of their appropriate duties, altogether beyond their ordinary standard of attainment. Many around them also who had slumbered in worldliness, discover an awakened attention to things eternal. Under these impressions, their giddy pleasures and worldly competitions, give place to solemn religious assemblies. From such assemblies they retire to commune with their own hearts, to search the scriptures and to make

their salvation the subject of their present and practical regard ; and the consequence, in many instances, is a deepening conviction of their utter sinfulness and ruin. Under this conviction their pride is subdued, they submit themselves to God, and gladly receive the grace of the gospel. They believe with the heart and are saved. Not only is the change great and sudden, but it is enduring and manifests itself in a new character through life. The gospel is written by the Spirit of the living God upon the tables of their hearts, and may be known and read of all men, in the goodness, righteousness, and truth exhibited by their lives.

Now of all matters attested by experience, none is more evident than the fact that, in every age of the world, there have been such revivals. They hold a conspicuous place in sacred history, as well as in later ecclesiastical records. Under the administration of Joshua, the labors of Samuel, the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, and the conduct of Ezra and Nehemiah, we may recognize a state of things, essentially such as we have described. In Isaiah's vision of converts flying to Zion "as a cloud and as doves to their windows;" in Zechariah's prophecy of "the pouring out of the Spirit of grace and supplications upon the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem;" in the ancient prophecies generally respecting the reign of the Messiah; and more expressly in the promises of Christ himself concerning the gift and offices of the Spirit, we have a revelation of the same thing. And in the inspired record of the incipient accomplishment of these predictions and promises under the preaching of the apostles, we have a continued narrative of revivals answering precisely, in their distinctive moral character, to those which in our day are experienced. The gospel is the ministration of the Spirit; and as if with the design of making this fact more indubitable, the christian church, from its establishment to this time, has been preserved and extended, not by a regular and uniform advancement, but chiefly by REVIVALS OF RELIGION—by revivals often succeeding periods of long and almost desperate lukewarmness and corruption. That such revivals are still to be expected, the nature of the dispensation shows; and that they are now to be expected with increased frequency, extensiveness and power, may be inferred from the period of this dispensation which we have reached. How the consummation desired and expected can be accomplished without them, it is difficult for us, as we look at the moral state of the world, to imagine. If the gospel is to be preached unto all nations; if many are to "run to and fro and knowledge is to be increased;" if the spirit of prayer, of self-denial, of enlarged benevolence, and devotedness to God must for these purposes eminently prevail in countries now evangelized; and if by such means the Son of God is to have "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of

the earth for his possession;" the scenes of pentecost, as to the effect of truth upon the conscience and the heart, must become frequent and extensive, until they shall every where be known and realized.

That every strong religious excitement constitutes a revival of religion, we do not pretend. We have seen multitudes crowding with eager minds to the place of worship; we have observed a sudden transition in some of them from anxiety and fear to religious thankfulness and joy; we have observed them borne onward, for a season, with fervent zeal, in a religious course; and we have also painfully found that all this has soon passed away, and been followed by a moral apathy deep and general, nearly in proportion to the strength and prevalence of the excitement which preceded it. But we hold it to be a contradiction in terms, to call this a revival of religion. A true revival of religion among a people, cannot leave them as lukewarm, as worldly minded, as far from God, and as unfit for heaven, as it found them. That which consists in the life of godliness, cannot leave them dead in sins: nor does the increased prevalence of love to God, and love to men, leave them as selfish, as hard hearted, and as indifferent to the honor of the Redeemer, and the best interests of men, as they were before. Nor have we any apprehension that the religious excitements "in the Calvinistic churches of New-England," for the last thirty years, were they fairly judged by this rule, would sink in our estimation. To all impartial observers we make the appeal, that a great part, and we have no hesitation in saying by far the greater part, of those persons who have dated their conversion from these seasons, have sustained, although in different degrees, a new and progressively spiritual and evangelical character, in the subsequent trials of life. Whatever fruits of holiness now adorn the churches of this fair part of the Redeemer's heritage, are chiefly the fruits of these revivals. Hence have come the greater part of our most enlightened, serious, and useful pastors. Hence a still greater proportion of our devoted and divinely honored missionaries. Hence the multitudes, in the more retired and not less needful relations of life, whose walk is adorned with the beauties of holiness. The God of all grace multiply such fruits of revivals, a thousand fold!

Still we think it important to state, that neither do we pretend that in a revival of religion, all those individuals who appear to be converted are real christians; nor yet that the feelings of real converts, in the freshness of their experience, and the peculiar excitements of the scene, are purely spiritual. We are not surprised if some who received the word with joy, "by and by are offended;" nor if others are afterwards found to have imbibed the spirit of the gospel, in a far less measure than they had been sup-

posed to do this. Least of all, is there good reason for the assertion of our author, that a "divine influence upon any mind is supposed to afford a sanction for the human means which have been devised for it—for the human process through which that mind has been led." No where is it maintained that divine influence interferes with the freedom of human agency; nor, of course, that the feelings or the conduct of men, though under a divine influence, are, in all respects, so long as they are imperfect men, to be approved. The reverse of all this, is every where in our churches, avowed and understood. If there is any thing by which the revivals among us have been marked, it is the care which has been taken to distinguish true religion from false; to promote unceasing humility and contrition; and to hold up the scriptures as the only standard, both of christian experience, and of right action, in distinction from human feelings, and "human processes" of every kind. Had the writer of these letters been willing to acknowledge this, the greater part of them would not have been published; and were those persons in general who lightly esteem revivals, duly mindful of it, a host of objections and prejudices would vanish.

That there are indiscreet, though zealous and well meaning persons in our churches, who do not always speak and act under the influence of these sentiments, is certainly not to be denied. It would be strange if our "English traveler" had not met with such. He may have found those who have spoken of revivals as though they were merely "religious excitements to be expected of course soon to subside." He may have heard some "both of the clergy and laity say, in reply to his inquiries into the state of religion, *"We have had a great revival here, and there is always a season of coldness afterwards."* This may have been stated as being "a matter of course and in the way of apology; and with seeming gladness that the case was no worse with them than with their neighbors." There is a propensity in zealous minds, until chastened by experience and observation, when they speak of revivals in distinction from an ordinary state of religious feeling, to present the contrast in the strongest light. Would they excite a spirit of revival in a church, they address it in terms of rebuke which would imply that no piety remained—not an individual there was alive to God—that the church as a body was "twice dead, as trees plucked up by the roots," or as "a valley of dry bones, very many and very dry;" as though all the fruits of the spirit in the retired walks and ordinary intercourse of life, were worthy of no account: and if at the same time they would present the happy state of others in the vicinity, christians there are described as having all awaked from their sleep, and recovered from backsliding, and being full of the spirit of the gospel; as though

the measure of excited feeling, were the true measure of vital religion. There is such extravagance in some persons, and, while we deny that it forms the character of the revivals which we have enjoyed, we lament that it exists. Beside the occasion which it furnishes for the scepticism and scoffs of the careless, it perverts the judgment, and misguides the efforts of the serious. It holds up a false standard of religion, and thus encourages delusive hopes. Nor do we wonder if, so far as it exists, it tends to give to revivals the transient character which it ascribes to them. The kind and degree of excitement which it seems to produce, cannot very long be sustained; and when this subsides, it can furnish no effectual motives to continued exertion. The measures adopted under the influence of such feelings, are accordingly all calculated to make the most of the favored season while it lasts, in the expectation that it will be short. As these measures, in continuance are found incompatible with the ordinary duties of life, they are remitted, as soon as the first symptoms of declension furnish a plausible excuse for remitting them; and then one after another, are neglected, until the whole system and form of a revival, give place to a system of worldly pursuits and gratification in its stead. Let those who enjoy a reviving influence, carefully distinguish between the essential nature of religion and its unessential accompaniments. While they acknowledge the day of visitation, both as an occasion for gratitude and a motive to diligence, let them not "compare themselves with themselves," or with their less favored neighbors, but lose sight of all which they have attained, in fixed contemplation of that to which they are encouraged to aspire. Let their faith and hope be fixed on God, to be with them while they will be with him. Let their prayers and all their endeavors be conducted with the view of his holding among them a lasting reign, and of their yielding to him an untiring obedience; and they may be among the happy churches of our land in whose experience, for a succession of years, has been verified the declaration—"the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes, him that soweth seed, and the mountains and the hills shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt."

Various are the prudential measures which have been adopted and recommended, as means either of producing revivals, or of extending and prolonging them. Without adverting particularly to these, many of which, no doubt, are useful, we have remarked, in the perusal of these letters two things, against which their reasoning and invective are mainly directed; and, we doubt not, it is because the writer perceived them to be those on which the very existence of revivals depends. On these we shall offer a few remarks; and shall do this the more freely because we are not without apprehension, that, familiarly as they are acknowledged in our churches, the vital importance of them, in comparison with other

things, is not suitably felt. We refer to the simplicity of our dependence upon the special influence of the Holy Spirit, as the efficient cause of revivals; and to a bold, unreserved, and fervent preaching of the peculiar doctrines of the gospel in their application to the consciences and hearts of men, as the indispensable means. "I cannot help suspecting," our author says, "from what I have seen of these excitements, that there is fanaticism always and necessarily at the bottom of them; that they are based upon false ideas, and upon this in particular, the root of all fanaticism, that they are the special work of God, the fruit of his supernatural interposition. Let these things be looked upon as the natural results of human feeling, let the idea of any thing extraordinary and supernatural be taken away, and I suspect that three quarters of that which supports them in the public mind would be taken away." p. 30. His suspicion is just. Therefore let all those who desire revivals, honor the office of the Holy Spirit. Let them, in obedience to the Divine Savior, "wait for the promise of the Father." Let them beware of ascribing to the men who are honored as instruments of revivals, or to any system of means employed in them, the efficiency which God claims as peculiarly his own; and be able to show, from his own word, that this is not fanaticism, but is only giving to Him who is "the author and finisher of faith," the glory which is his due. There is truth in the description which the writer subjoins to the passage which we have just quoted, although mingled with expressions of contumely which we forbear to introduce. "*It is the work of God*, is the declaration," he says, "that carries awe over the minds of the body of the people. This impression of something supernatural is very obvious and striking in case of the conversion of an individual, especially if the individual be *noted* from any cause, and the event takes place in a time of general indifference. The people talk of it with awe and rapture in their countenances—the whole neighborhood feels as if the power of God had appeared in the midst of it." On reading this we could not help inquiring with ourselves what was the impression in the assemblies at Thessalonica, when from the lips of Paul, "the gospel came to them, not in word only, but in power and with the Holy Ghost;" and in those at Corinth also, when "if one came in who believed not, or one unlearned, he was convinced of all, he was judged of all, and thus were the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so falling down on his face, he worshiped God, and reported that God was in them of a truth." If the conviction referred to is just, well may the impression of awe prevail. The conversion of a sinner, considered by the light of the scriptures only as an event, and much more considered in connection with its causes and results, transcends in importance, infinitely, every other event in the history of man. It

inspires heaven with solemn adoration. And, if it is to be ascribed to a special interposition of God, in application of the atonement of Christ for the salvation of a soul, well may the subject of it and all others who see the evidence of it, say "How dreadful is this place, for this is none other than the house of God; and this is the gate of heaven!" And even if we should doubt, we are bidden to beware. There was a time when blasphemy, on such an occasion, might be forgiven. But since the Holy Ghost is manifested, those who malignantly revile his operations should tremble. The only prayer for them in such a case, which compassion is permitted to breathe, is, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

It is not, however, chiefly as a means of persuasion that we insist on the acknowledgment of a divine influence in revivals. As an ascription of honor to God which his jealousy demands; as a condition of his promises on which the communication of his Spirit is suspended; as a state of mind involved in the very nature of prayer for his influence, it is indispensable. If, in the economy of redemption, the Holy Spirit is revealed as the Divine Agent, to whom the whole work of dispensing and applying, as well as of revealing the truth of God, for the salvation of men, is to be ultimately ascribed, it is unquestionably high presumption in us to engage in this work, in the same manner, as though no such influence were needed, or to be expected. Nor is it sufficient that our dependence on his influence be assented to in speculation. It must be realized and felt in its practical bearing. The whole structure of the gospel shows that it is to the poor in spirit, ardently bent on glorifying God, and cleaving to him as their only helper, that he delights to afford his aid. What the uniform tenor of his promises inculcates on this subject, the experience of christians attests: and not only their individual experience, but also that of collective bodies. There is perhaps nothing by which the moral state of a church is more to be distinguished at the commencement of a revival of religion, and at the first declension of it, than by the prevalence of this feeling of dependence in the one case, and the want of it in the other. And if "in the calvinistic churches of New-England" collectively, this feeling shall decline, we have no hesitation in saying that revivals will be proportionably unfrequent or corrupted. If, now, after an unbroken series of revivals for more than thirty years, extended during this whole period over large portions of our territory, the spirit of humble dependence in which they began, shall be succeeded by a spirit of self-reliance, or shall be made the occasion of self-esteem and vain glorious display; if the prevalent sentiment shall be, that they are to be continued of course, or although suspended, are soon to return unsought; if the great inquiry shall be how are they to be *conducted*, and not how to be

obtained, and the reliance which has been concentrated directly on God, shall be really and practically, although unconsciously, transferred to "a moral power" originating in man; if in our zeal to convince impenitent sinners of their power to repent, we send them away securely trusting to resources of their own to be put in requisition in the time of need; and in our endeavors to summon christians to reforming and benevolent enterprises, we bring them up from their knees to take hold of a lever which, by the might of their own arm, is to overturn the deep foundations of the world's apostacy and woe; if in short, though our orthodoxy shall remain unimpaired, our practical habits and feelings shall be unfriendly to retiring, humble, and unceasing prayer, we shall have no cause to wonder if we painfully feel the import of the declaration "cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord." In these remarks we speak rather with reference to what would be a natural and is in fact a frequent result of human depravity, than with any definite view to what we have observed very extensively to exist. But we have so often seen revivals in individual churches and neighborhoods arrested, and their promising fruits miserably blighted, by the insidious influences of a self-complacent and self-depending pride, that we are jealous, we confess, lest by similar causes, we promote a more general dereliction. If the present is the age of action, it should equally be the age of prayer. If the call is "go forward," it is also "let him that glorieth glory in the Lord."

Dependence on divine influence, however, is not more opposed to self-confidence on the one hand, than it is to desponding inactivity on the other. Indeed it is only by a positive reliance on God, according to his word, that faith gladly renounces all inconsistent objects of dependence. There may be, there often is, despondency where there is no faith. There cannot be faith without expectation. And for the most cheering reliance on the readiness of God to communicate his effectual aid in the way of his appointment:—for the most enlarged expectation in our prayers for it; the revelation afforded us in the gospel of his good will towards men, and of the mediation of Christ, with express reference to this very thing; together with his declared purposes, his extensive promises, and his repeated exhortations and commands respecting it, furnishes ample warrant. Faith in God, as thus revealed, is the essential thing required, as the condition of the blessing. It is this which makes it honorable in God to give, and which prepares men effectually to seek, and thankfully to receive. It is this also which carries forward those honored instruments of divine grace, whom our author sneeringly calls, "the masters of revivals," under the consciousness of their own weakness, and in resistance of more than human power, in a bold and faithful application of the means of salvation, with hope of success: and their hope is not in vain.

It is to little purpose that the writer of these Letters would disprove a divine influence in revivals, by a large display of means employed to promote them. For what believer in that influence ever doubted the importance of concurrent means? That because means are necessary to the conversion of men—means wisely adapted to the end—those means must be effectual without divine influence; or with only that influence which *uniformly* accompanies them, this writer certainly has not shown. It may still be true that a special interposition of God is necessary in every instance of conversion. We would not call it miraculous, for miracles are effects of a divine interposition in the natural world. But that conversion is the result of a special interposition of God in connection with the means of his appointment, we have at least his word to prove: "He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy." "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth." "Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

It is evident enough, however, that the author is not less offended with the means used to promote revivals, than with the ascription of them to a divine source. He perceives that the doctrines of the entire depravity and universal condemnation of unrenowned men; of the practicability and duty of immediate repentance, and the radical defect of all their doings without it; of salvation by the blood of the cross, and the necessity of faith; of the offices of the Holy Spirit, and the sovereignty of his influence in conversion; and in general the scheme of doctrine taught in "the calvinistic churches of New-England," are the means by which "the religious excitements" in these churches, are produced. He has discernment enough to see, and we doubt not has felt, that these doctrines are calculated to disturb impenitent men; and that just impressions of them cannot easily consist with a life of negligent security. He therefore pours out all his malignity against them. Urging men to immediate repentance he can least of all endure. "The idea of an instant conversion," he remarks, "goes deeply and intrinsically into the very principles of a revival. Without this idea it could not go on, nor exist, a single day." Let the friends of revivals profit by his remarks. The doctrines of our faith are indeed "the very principles of revival," because they are the principles of the gospel. They are the truth of things as impressed by the Spirit of God on the minds of men, and the exciting causes of all their moral feelings and purposes, whenever they are reclaimed to God and prepared for heaven. They are "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Let those to whom the ministry of them is committed, therefore, go on, with the deepest sense of their insufficiency indeed, yet with the boldness becoming men furnished with a system of truth adapted by divine wisdom to

the salvation of men, and acting under a divine commission for the express purpose of "turning them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God." With this subject intently in view, let them with prayerful dependence on God, never cease "by manifestation of the truth to commend themselves unto every man's conscience as in the sight of God," and they will not be left without witness, that "the weapons of their warfare are mighty through God." It was this spirit of faith which animated the preaching of Baxter, of Doddridge, of Whitfield, of Edwards, and gave such power to their testimony. Wherever there is the same spirit, similar results are to be expected. In whomsoever it exists, "believing they will therefore speak," and the impressions of their own minds will be conveyed in a greater or less extent, to the minds of others. Nor can such men be confined to the public forms of speaking. They will "preach the word in season and out of season." Whatever reproaches our English traveler may be disposed to cast on "domiciliary visitations," they will preach the gospel after the example of Paul, not only publicly, but also "from house to house."

Bitter complaints are made throughout these Letters of the power of the clergy. The writer "never knew a people over whom the clergy had such an influence—among whom such a towering spiritual hierarchy was built up, as the good and intelligent, but after all very superstitious people of New-England." We only wish that all those who are now echoing such complaints, would be equally definite in stating the form in which this tyranny is exercised. So far as appears from these Letters, it is confined to the encouragement of revivals. Without the influence of the clergy there would be no revivals: at least, "not without their aid." To this statement we certainly feel no great objection. Whatever power any of the professed ministers of Christ may have exerted by means of secular authority, ecclesiastical domination, political intrigue, or spiritual usurpation, we do most ardently hope "that the good and enlightened people of New-England," will never be "superstitious" enough to endure. But whatever power they exert "by the word of truth, and the armor of righteousness on the right hand and left," whether the word of truth be preached directly by themselves, or sent abroad under their influence, this is the power which Christ has given to them—a power, "not for destruction, but for salvation." This power is not properly of them, but of God. He originated it in the gift of the gospel to the world. He exerts it, by putting this treasure into the earthen vessels which he has made, to receive it; and through them, giving it effect, by his Spirit, in the consciences and hearts of men. Whoever opposes it, contends not with men, but with God and whoever wishes it to be less, desires that the King of glory, riding forth prosperously because of truth and meekness," may be stopped in his career. Yet so it is that this

power excites the bitterest opposition of men ; and only because it lays the axe at the root of their pride and self-indulgence. Hence multitudes are indignant at the exertion of it. Even at this day, and in this country, after all that christianity has done for us, and all that our fathers have done and suffered to transmit it to us, its salutary influence whether as it is displayed among ourselves in revivals of religion, or as it is spread abroad by evangelical efforts, excites an alarm, which not the man of sin himself, though by divine designation "drunk with the blood of saints and martyrs," and "coming after the working of Satan, with all deceivableness in them that perish," seems to have produced. In this contest of feeling and action, it concerns every one to take care on which he stands, "lest haply he be found fighting against God."

Notwithstanding the power of the New-England clergy, in the view of our traveler, he justly remarks that various other circumstances must conspire to produce a revival. Among these he does not overlook the concurrence of the church. And truly, did all the members of our churches, as becomes their profession, observe the institutions of the gospel with constancy, seriousness, and evident delight ; did they bear an enlightened and decided testimony to the preaching of it in their intercourse with men ; did they preserve unbroken their own unity and promptly exclude incorrigible offenders ; did they endeavor to bring the negligent around them under the means of grace, and to instruct, convince, and persuade those who belong to the circle of their influence, concerning those things which pertain to salvation ; and recommend the whole by a fair and legible transcript of the gospel in their habitual conduct, who can imagine the power of conviction and persuasion which would attend its public ministrations ? It is this concurrence chiefly, which, so far as means are concerned, gives the gospel its power, in seasons of revival. And it is the want of this concurrence, together with a directly counteracting influence in so many christian professors by their lukewarmness, their contentions, their conformity to the world, and their general inconsistency of life, which forms one of the principal reasons that revivals are not more frequent and powerful, and of longer continuance.

That revivals of religion may be interrupted by any cause foreign to their nature, which strongly engages the attention and interests the feelings of men, is often remarked. However laudable in itself or important in its proper place ; however nearly allied to religion, or necessary to its general interests ; the effect on minds, at the crisis when their final choice for eternity is often decided, is disastrous. How far objects of unquestionable importance, which now powerfully engage the public mind—particularly those of outward reformation and evangelical enterprise, may tend to prevent the prevalence of revivals, is worthy of consideration.

That these objects must be prosecuted, there would seem to be no cause for doubt. They are necessary to the conversion of the world. That there is no *necessity* of their preventing revivals, seems to be equally certain ; not only because they are plainly indicated by the King of Zion as objects to be sought, but also because in many places they both are found to be consistent. Such however, is human depravity, that we may be too well satisfied with the form, and machinery and preparatory measures of religion, without its spirit and vitality ; and the time and thought, the preaching and calling of assemblies, the public appeals and individual effort, employed in these objects, may prevent that predominant desire of revivals, and that directness of aim at them, in the prayers and labors both of our ministers and churches, without which they are not to be expected. The danger, in whatever degree it exists, should be known, and call forth our earliest care. Milner in his Church History has remarked that "revivals of religion seldom last in their purity above thirty or forty years." Were this remark to be verified a second time in New-England, how soon would all our plans both of external reformation, and evangelical enterprise, prove the weakness of man. It may be hoped that a remark suggested by the experience of the seventh century, though intended to extend in its application down to the close of the eighteenth, may not be found true in our nearer approach to the promised period when "at evening tide it shall be light." Yet the dearest interests of our children, our country and the world, demand that we forget not the order of the divine economy—"For these things will I be inquired of by the house of Israel, to do it for them."

ART. III.—REVIEW OF JAMES' CHURCH MEMBER'S GUIDE.

Christian Fellowship, or the Church Member's Guide. BY J. A. JAMES, A. M. Birmingham, England. Edited by J. O. Choules, A. M. Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Newport, R. I. Boston: Lincoln and Edmands, printers and publishers, 1829: pp. 239, 12mo.

In this volume, the religious community are again presented with a valuable offering from the pen of Mr. James of Birmingham. The subjects discussed, and the duties pointed out and enforced, are of great practical importance ; and the author has executed his task with his usual ability. It is gratifying to witness the rapid succession of Mr. James' public labors. Aside from the value of the works themselves, we highly estimate the example of diligence, which they present, in a christian pastor. The author, as minister of a large and intelligent congregation, in one of the great towns of England, has a responsible charge ; and if he lives at all according to his own rules, as prescribed in this volume, he

must devote no inconsiderable portion of his time to parochial duties. Many ministers think such duties inconsistent with the demands of even ordinary pulpit preparation, much more, with writing for the public. But Mr. James comes forward to show his brethren, that by industry, and proper economy in the disposition of time, a minister may discharge all his pastoral duties, and yet write books which are fitted to edify and quicken the pious of both hemispheres. Such an example, is instructive and cheering. We hope it may provoke many to an honorable emulation. The times demand it. We fully subscribe to the sentiment, that "the power of the press, is put into the hands of *good men*, not only to get wisdom, but to impart it to *others* and to *all*. They are under sacred obligations then to *use* this power, and to use it *well*."

Mr. James is deservedly a popular writer. In common with Mr. Jay, who has been so long and so favorably known to the religious public, Mr. James has the happy talent of throwing interest around every topic of which he treats. His fancy is lively, and fertile, and his taste sufficiently refined and correct. His writings are marked with good sense; and the warmth of his *heart* imparts to his style a peculiar glow and animation. He can, moreover, descend to humble scenes, and ordinary topics, and utter the most familiar truths, without flatness or insipidity; and without losing that dignity which every writer upon moral subjects, should be careful to preserve. With all this, he unites to a most amiable, and truly christian spirit, great boldness of appeal, and fidelity in stating and applying truth. Impressed with the importance of sound moral and religious instruction, brought home to our business and bosoms, he urges on his readers, what he believes the interests of truth and piety to demand, uninfluenced by the fear or favor of men. We admire this elevated, fearless, (not *reckless*) spirit in a christian minister, whether he speaks from the pulpit or the press. It is worthy of his office and his divine commission. It evinces a noble disinterestedness of purpose, and gives weight to every sentiment that he utters.

As it is not our design to follow Mr. James regularly through successive chapters, we shall at once give our readers, a view of the leading topics which he discusses. We do this more especially, for the purpose of commending the work to the attention of pastors and churches, for whose benefit it was written, and whose peace and spiritual improvement it is well fitted to subserve.

The titles of the chapters are as follows :

The nature of a christian church,
The nature and design of church fellowship,
The privileges of membership,
The general duties of church members in their individual capacity,
The duties of church members to their pastors,

Duties of church members towards each other,
The duties of church members towards the members of other christian societies,
The duties of church members in their peculiar character and station.

To these general heads, Mr. James adds one other, under which he introduces a variety of miscellaneous topics. Some of them, though of the highest practical importance, have rarely been brought before the mass of professing christians.

In considering the nature of a christian church, our author discovers a strong preference, for the congregational form of government; and may probably be regarded as correctly representing the general views, not only of the respectable ecclesiastical body to which he belongs, but also of several other religious denominations. The Baptist churches, especially, both in England and in this country, are formed on the congregational or independent plan.

His views of the import of the term church, are thus expressed.

A church of Christ, then, in the more usual acceptation of the term, means a number of professing christians, united to each other by their own voluntary consent, having their proper officers, meeting in one place for the observance of religious ordinances, and who are independent of all other control than the authority of Christ, expressed in his word. p. 15.

This is the doctrine of congregationalism in its original and strictest form; but in this country, if not in England, it underwent at an early period some important modifications. Maintaining the principle, that each congregation or brotherhood of professing christians, meeting together for religious purposes in one place, is a complete church, with power to elect its own officers, and to regulate its own concerns; the congregationalists of New-England, have at the same time admitted the propriety and expediency of a voluntary consociation of churches, for various purposes of doctrine and discipline. Even Robinson himself did not approve of the doctrine of absolute independency; nor do we suppose Mr. James would be understood to do so, (though his language admits of this construction;) but from the general tenor of his remarks, we are led to the conclusion, that he would carry this principle somewhat farther than his brethren on this side of the water. However this may be, we are sure that all evangelical christians among us, will heartily concur with him, in reckoning among the fundamental principles of the new testament: "The unalienable right of every man to expound the word of God for himself, and to worship his Maker in that place, and manner which he deems most accordant with the declarations of the bible; the utter impropriety of any alliance, or incorporation of the church of Christ with the governments, or kingdoms of this world; and the duty of

every christian to oppose the authority, which would attempt to fetter his conscience, with obligations to religious observances, not enjoined by Christ."

To whatever extent the various denominations among us may differ from each other, or from Mr. James on particular points of ecclesiastical order, yet they all perfectly harmonize in their decided aversion to religious establishments, and to every attempt of government to fetter the conscience, or bind the destinies of the church to those of the State. There never was a more injurious or a more senseless cry, than that which certain men have of late thought it expedient to raise, in relation to this subject. It is injurious, because there is not a shadow of proof that any of the christian denominations in our land are aiming to effect the union supposed. On the other hand their most solemn acts, as well as their reiterated declarations forbid the supposition. The chief evidence alleged against them, is derived from that harmony of effort in the cause of piety and virtue, which now so happily unites and adorns various branches of the christian church. And if this is 'the front of our offending,' if this is the chief ground of alarm, would to God there were more abundant reason for it.

This cry is senseless. There is no evil of magnitude to which we are less exposed, than the one which is so much feared. There is no single circumstance in our character, history, or present state as a people, that is favorable to the union in question. So far as human sagacity can discover, this nation is in much greater danger of being left without religion, or of being overrun with infidelity and vice, than of having any particular form of christian faith or ecclesiastical order established by law. Never were the different sects which divide our community, more awake to promote their respective interests, or more watchful over each other to see that no unfair advantage is taken. This is true even of those denominations and those individuals, who are least actuated by the spirit of party, and who unite the most readily with each other, in all great and benevolent enterprises. Add to this the fact, that four or five of the leading denominations are of nearly equal strength, and that each makes it a part of its morning and evening prayer, that the blighting influence of governmental patronage and interference, may never fall on any branch of its own beloved Zion. The most that is asked is, that government may not throw its influence into the scale of irreligion; that it may not frame its laws and ordinances, so as directly to contravene the laws and ordinances of God, and compel the conscientious citizen to choose between abandoning the public service, and abandoning his religion. But it is unnecessary to insist on so plain a point. Those who raise the outcry, know the charge to be unfounded. It is merely a convenient mode of attack; and like the thousand other falsehoods

engendered by party strife, will be looked back upon hereafter, only with wonder or derision.

Passing by many interesting topics on which we cannot now dwell, we come to Mr. James' fourth chapter, on 'the general duties of church members in their individual capacity.' We are here presented with a series of remarks, some of which appear to us to be peculiarly seasonable, and to demand the prayerful consideration of every professed christian, whatever may be his rank or station in the church. The suggestion has often been made, and with reason, that in these times of high excitement and rapid diffusion of religious intelligence, the daily and devout study of the holy scriptures, is in danger of being neglected. Nor is this danger confined to private christians. Even ministers of the gospel are exposed to it. We speak here particularly of the *devotional* study of the bible. If Henry Martyn, with all his spirituality, is heard to complain of strong temptations to neglect his bible, through his love of other studies, what must be the exposure of those, who are confessedly far below him in the spirit of piety? And if the sacred volume is not often and diligently read for devotional purposes, of how little value will the study of it be, as an intellectual or critical exercise? It is the student in sacred things who grows in *grace* as he grows in knowledge, that attains to "the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus." But who can grow in grace, that does not often refresh and invigorate his soul with "the pure milk of the word?"

Not however to detain our readers, we proceed to introduce the remarks of Mr. James, expressing our conviction, that they are by no means confined in their application, to *British christians*.

It is a fact which cannot be questioned, that a very large proportion of those whom we believe to be real christians, are mere "babes" in knowledge. They have just enough instruction to know that they are sinners, and that salvation is all of grace through Christ Jesus. But ask them to state, prove, and defend, in a scriptural manner, any one of the leading doctrines of the gospel, and we immediately discover how contracted is their view, and how feeble is their perception of divine truth. Instead of walking amidst the splendid light and varied scenery of revelation, with the confidence and joy of men whose vision is clear and strong, they are groping along with the fear and hesitation of those who are partially blind. This in most cases is their fault, and not their misfortune merely. We are commanded to grow in knowledge; and the apostle in the following very severe language reproveth the believing Hebrews for their ignorance. "When for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God." p. 42.

While speaking of the deficiency of knowledge in the church, our author adverts, in his usual style of bold and pointed remark, to supposed defects in the public exhibitions of truth.

After all I am constrained to confess, that the darkness which rests up-

on the mind of the church member, is the result, in some cases, of that cloudiness which envelopes the mind of the pastor: if there is ignorance in the pew, it is because there is so little knowledge in the pulpit. When the preacher dwells on nothing but a few hacknied common place topics of an experimental, or consolatory nature; when all the varied and sublime parts of revealed truth are neglected for one unceasing round of beaten subjects; when a text is selected from time to time which requires no study to understand, no ability to expound; when nothing is heard from one sabbath to another, but the same sentiments in the same words, until the introduction of a new or original conception, would startle the congregation almost as much as the entrance of a spectre; who can wonder, if, under such circumstances, the congregation should grow tired of their preacher; or if such drowsy tinklings should lull the fold, till with their shepherd they sink to the slumbers of indifference, amidst the thickening gloom of religious ignorance. p. 45, 46.

How far these strictures apply to the ministers of *our churches*, we will not take upon ourselves to say. We are sure, however, that they do not come amiss; for even if they should be thought, at present, not to any considerable extent applicable, (which we should hesitate to assert) yet it will be readily admitted, that there is danger, that they *may* become so; and to forewarn is to forearm. Sloth is a sin which most easily besets all, not excepting the ministers at the altar. Let them listen then to the voice of admonition, and set a double guard against this insidious foe to their improvement and their usefulness; always bearing in lively remembrance the direction of Paul to Timothy; 'meditate upon these things, give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all.'

In the same chapter we find the following forcible appeal to professors of religion, on the importance of consistency of christian character.

I particularly exhort church members to beware of what might be denominated the *minor* breaches of consistency. We are not to conclude that nothing breaks the uniformity of our character, but what subjects us to the discipline of the church. Overt acts of immorality are comparatively rare, while ten thousand instances of less delinquency, such as the church cannot take cognizance of, are continually occurring in the conduct of christians, to the disgrace of religion, and the injury of men's souls. A christian's character is like polished steel, which may have its lustre destroyed, not only by broad spots of rust, but by an assemblage of innumerable specks.

More scandals have occurred in the christian church from dishonorable *pecuniary* transactions than from any other source. The world is a dangerous and successful foe to grace; and although every church member professes himself to be through faith a conqueror, how many by their over-reaching, ungenerous conduct, prove that they are yet enslaved by this sordid enemy. Some there are who betray their master for a less sum than that which Judas set upon his blood; and for a tithe of thirty pieces of silver, will be guilty of an action which they must know at the time, will provoke the severest invective and bitterest sarcasm against all religion." p. 51, 52.

In pointing out the duties of church members, towards the members of other christian societies, Mr. James presses the obligation to sympathize with them in their trials, and to afford them needed aid. On this subject he makes a seasonable appeal to wealthy churches and individuals, one which we trust many hearts are now prepared to feel, and respond to. How can our opulent churches—strong in numbers and resources—expect the divine blessing, while they feel no concern or sympathy for sister churches, struggling hard even for existence? Old and powerful societies in our cities, have in some cases, looked coldly on, and seen younger and feebler ones in their neighborhood, making every effort and sacrifice to establish themselves, without lending the least support, perhaps not even their countenance. Their own houses of worship have literally overflowed with attendants, and their sacramental table has been crowded with communicants, many of them talented and wealthy; yet every symptom of a disposition on the part of individuals to join their more feeble-handed brethren, has been repressed. Even ministers of Christ have, we fear, sometimes so far forgotten the principles of that gospel which they preach, and yielded to the unworthy ambition of presiding over a large and affluent congregation, that they have shown not a little of this narrow and selfish spirit. But we hope for the honor of Christ, and the prosperity of his cause, that a better temper is beginning to prevail; and we think we can discern gratifying indications of the fact. The *colonizing spirit* which began several years since to distinguish the churches in one of our principal cities, and is of late spreading into others, is worthy of all praise. It is the spirit of primitive christianity. When we see pastors cheerfully parting with their elders or their deacons in order to strengthen old, and build up new congregations, we may hail a happy day for the church.

Under his miscellaneous head, Mr. James touches upon several topics of moment. Among those of most interest are 'Discipline'—'The conduct of a church in the election of a pastor'—and 'The causes of schisms in the churches.' Among the valuable remarks which are here contained, we have room only for the following which from their intrinsic excellence, are worthy of being laid up among the sacred treasures of the pious, to be had in *everlasting remembrance*.

After all that has been said upon *distinct* and *specific* causes of disturbance, it must be admitted that the grand source of ecclesiastical distraction, is the very feeble operation of christian principles on the hearts of church members.

The two virtues love and humility, if prevalent, would effectually preserve the peace of the church against the evils of intestine commotion. Without these, even the kingdom of Christ, no less than the kingdoms of

this world, is sure to be convulsed with faction, and torn by schism. As long as christians suffer the passions of *men*, to agitate their minds and direct their conduct in the assembly of the *saints*, so long must we expect to see even that holy convention, liable to the distractions of mere worldly communities. It is pride that makes men turbulent and contentious; that renders them dogmatical and overbearing; that drives them upon the inflexible determination to have their own way, and that makes them regardless of the opinions and feelings of others. Humility and love would keep all quiet and orderly. Never till we are brought to a more implicit submission to the authority of Christ, and to a more distinct and practical recognition of the principles of true religion, can we rationally expect to see Zion a quiet and peaceable habitation. Heaven itself would be a region of storms, if pride could enter or love diminish, in those realms of perfect peace. "We must contend who shall be *lowest*, not who shall be highest. Let ministers inculcate this temper from the pulpit and exhibit it in their conduct. Let private christians receive the instructions and copy the example of their pastors. Let both remember that humility and love are the necessary fruits of our doctrines, the highest beauty of our character, and the guardian angels of our churches." pp. 236—239.

These extracts will justify the favorable opinion which we have expressed of this work. May its excellent author go on to enrich the church with many similar productions.*

Having expressed ourselves thus favorably of the volume before us, as a whole, we shall confine our remaining observations to one or two particulars, in regard to which, we think Mr. James errs.

In the first place, we are not satisfied with his argument against the private administration of the Lord's supper, to professed christians, in cases of mortal sickness. His principal objection is, that it is a *public* ordinance, designed for the whole church, and that we have no scriptural authority for its more private administration. Our limits do not permit us to enter at length on this subject; nor is it of such practical importance as to demand it. We therefore barely remark, that not only the Lord's supper, but baptism, and the act of uniting with the church, ought all to be regarded as public transactions, and ordinarily to be performed in a full assembly of the church. At the same time, we do not imagine, that christians are forbidden, in extraordinary cases, to attend to them in a more private manner. In regard to the administration of the Lord's supper in private houses, in the case supposed, we do not deem it indispensable that we should bring direct and positive proof for the practice, from the scriptures. It seems to us sufficient, that it harmonizes with the merciful spirit of God's institutions, as exhibited in other cases, where the general order

* In one instance we have known the work before us, used advantageously, by a pastor as a text-book in delivering a course of familiar lectures to his church on their various duties.

of requirement is relaxed on the ground, that God "will have mercy, rather than sacrifice." On this principle, if we believed that immersion was the only mode of baptism practiced by the apostles, and ought now to be adopted, we should have no difficulty in a case of sickness, in baptizing by a more partial application of water; and this exception was admitted by the early advocates of immersion. Christ has not given us positive instruction on every part of church duty. A point of practice is sometimes left to be determined by the reason of things, or by analogy. The practice in question, is one which we think falls under this head.

The other sentiment of Mr. James from which we are compelled to dissent, is one of greater moment, and fraught with consequences, deeply affecting the interests of the church. We allude to the sentiment which urges the speedy, if not immediate admission of new converts to membership in the church. In the congregational and presbyterian churches of this country, much caution has been thought necessary on this subject. We are informed however, that in the revivals of religion which have recently refreshed a part of the presbyterian church, the doctrine of immediate admission to church privileges, has extensively prevailed. In some instances, if we have been correctly informed, individuals who have obtained hope in the apartment for anxious inquirers, have, the same evening, been transferred to that in which the elders of the church were met, to examine candidates for membership.

In discussing this topic, Mr. James asks,

Has Jesus Christ stated any term of probation which we must pass through, before we are received into the church? Certainly not. What right have we then to fix upon any. Is not this a direct invasion of his authority? If we consult the precedents furnished by the practice of the apostles, they most decisively condemn this overstrained caution of those who would put a christian upon the trial of a year or two before he is admitted to communion. The very day in which a man professed himself a christian he was added to the church.

This argument involves a question which must first be answered, viz. how far, in the *details* of church order and discipline, are we bound by the example of the apostles? Are we allowed no discretion? May we pay no regard to change of circumstances? This is ground which we have never believed tenable. Such a principle is encompassed with difficulties, and is not maintained, we believe, in practice, by any sect of christians.

The apostles baptized their converts immediately, and according to the general opinion, admitted them to the communion, without their being united to any particular church. Does their example

bind *us*? Who follows it? The apostles for a season, encouraged their converts to throw their goods into a common fund. But who pleads their example in favor of a similar practice now? The apostles broke the bread of communion every Lord's day at least, if not every day of the week; but what clergyman feels himself bound to imitate their example?

If now Mr. James were asked, why do you not follow this apostolic example; what authority have you for withholding for weeks together the enlivening and strengthening elements of Christ's table from his needy children? we presume his answer would be ready, —change of circumstances justifies a change of practice. It is farther evident, that the apostolic churches, partook of the Lord's supper in connection with a common meal, with some reference perhaps to the manner of its first institution. But we have all departed from this primitive usage, and feel that it is wise and right to do so. The apostles directed the appointment of deacons in the church at Jerusalem. We consider this as establishing the principle, that it is best ordinarily to have such officers in the church, but the apostles did not direct the election of *any* deacon until circumstances demanded it. They had not, therefore, as this fact shows, a complete plan of church order before them, when they began their labors. Though they acted under divine direction, yet some of their measures were prompted by peculiar exigencies, and governed by peculiar circumstances. We can conceive of a church so situated, that it might be expedient to delay for a season, to appoint deacons at all; and when a church elects to this office, it is not bound to follow apostolic example and elect *seven* men. Circumstances may render it inexpedient.

These remarks are sufficient, we think, to establish the principle, that in regard to the details of order and discipline the practice of the apostles, unaccompanied by positive precept, does not bind us, as a matter of course. We have a right to compare our circumstances with theirs, and to act with a sound and conscientious discretion. It may be said that this is a loose and dangerous rule; but it is a necessary rule, and one upon which all christians, so far as we know, act. It might indeed be dangerous if it regarded fundamental matters, but it does not; for these the Great Head of the church has taken care to settle by explicit instructions.

We are then permitted, in estimating the authority of the apostles' example in the case before us, to compare circumstances. If they admitted their converts immediately to baptism and the Lord's supper, it does not follow that we should do the same. They might have had reasons to justify the practice, which we have not. The following considerations may throw some light on this point.

The apostolic dispensation was in many respects peculiar.

1. It was a dispensation of transcendent spiritual power; not

merely with reference to outward gifts, but to inward grace. The spirit of God descended upon the souls of men with an energy, never since equaled. Who has since known a pentecostal day? A day in which three thousand sinners, many of them until now, singularly hardened in unbelief, were converted unto God? The power of the Holy Ghost at Samaria, and Antioch, at Corinth, and at other places where the apostles, and their fellow laborers delivered the messages of the gospel, was greatly distinguished. We are prepared to expect, then, what we actually find, that the first converts to the christian faith, were in general remarkable for the ardor and elevation of their piety. In their first religious exercises, there was undoubtedly a peculiar distinctness and vividness of the christian graces. Truth stamped her image in deep and legible characters on their hearts. Her divine impress was gloriously manifest; and her testimony, engraven on these living tablets by the power of the spirit of God, was "known and read of all men."

If such were the features of the first revivals of religion, then a speedy admission to church privileges, was less hazardous than it now is, because in general the converts were of less questionable character.

2. The faith of the first converts was subjected at the outset, to a searching and powerful test. While on the one hand, they had no earthly advantage to gain by professing Christ; on the other, they had every thing to lose. They saw, that in the wide world they had neither home nor any resting place. Wherever they went, bonds and afflictions awaited them. If this were the condition of converts to Christ in our congregations, we should feel that we had a powerful safeguard against false profession. Nothing but the most vigorous faith, and the most cheering sense of the love of God shed abroad in the heart, could prompt any one publicly to proclaim his trust in the Redeemer, and thus voluntarily give himself up to bear his cross, and be baptized into his sufferings and death. We need not say how changed *our* circumstances are from all this. In revivals of religion in our congregations, there is no cross in professing Christ, worthy of being named. Religion if we may so speak, is popular; and those who profess Christ go forward in the midst of their friends and companions. A false hope may easily carry one through all this, and we see that it often does so. Is there not then good reason why we should delay candidates for church privileges longer, and admit them more cautiously than the apostles did?

3. There is ground for believing, that among the extraordinary qualifications of the apostles, they had preeminently the capacity of discriminating religious character. We speak not here, of any

miraculous power of searching the heart: but they preached the truth with a purity and energy which do not characterize the ministrations of uninspired men; and the truth tries christian character. They had also great boldness in inculcating, and great skill and fidelity in applying, the principles of the gospel to particular cases.

Nor can we forget, while on this point, that from the critical condition of the christian cause, God saw fit, in an extraordinary manner, to superintend the concerns of his church; and, in many important matters, to grant to the apostles peculiar illumination and guidance. Now, what was more important, than that the first fruits of the gospel should be genuine and above reproach? There is reason to believe, that the early revivals, under the preaching of the apostles, were eminently pure. The Lord added unto the company of the disciples "*such as should be saved.*" And it is worthy of notice, that among the churches gathered in Judea, in the first part of the apostolic ministry, we hear of few disorders and very few apostasies. But it is certain, whatever may have been the cause, that at a subsequent period the case was different. Either because God remitted that peculiar superintendence over the character of the churches, which he at first exercised; or because christianity became less odious and the profession of it involved fewer trials, we know that numbers were baptized and added to the visible assemblies of the faithful, of such as should *not* be saved. The gospel at Corinth, for example, was attended with great power and great success. Many checks to a premature profession of the christian faith were removed; and the extraordinary spiritual gifts conferred, operated as strong inducements to such a profession. The consequence was, that many untaught, and not a few unconverted persons, found their way into the church, to the subsequent injury of the christian cause, and the great scandal of the christian name.* Similar evils no doubt appeared in other churches, though not perhaps to the same extent. Now, if we consider the general terms of commendation, in which Paul speaks of the piety of the Corinthian disciples, we are compelled to refer their deplorable delinquencies *chiefly* to their ignorance. They were converted from a state of gross heathen darkness and licentiousness; and they must have been received into the church without that careful and thorough instruction in the doctrines of christianity, which was afterwards practiced and felt to be so necessary. It happened with them, as it does amongst us, that the defects which they

* It is evident that numbers of unconverted persons were in this church, when Paul wrote to them his first epistle; but as this was several years subsequent to his labors among them, it cannot be known how many of these persons were baptized during his ministry.

brought with them into the church, were removed with difficulty and by a very slow process. What would be thought of congregations of professed saints now, who should need to be exhorted to forsake some of the worst vices, as inconsistent with christian character, and called to account for tolerating the most disgraceful sins in their members—nay, who should be rebuked for scandalous excesses, even at the Lord's table? If our churches are more free from any of these causes of reproach than were those of Corinth, or Ephesus, or Colosse, it is not so much because their members have more grace, as because they have more light and knowledge of duty.

But why, it may be asked, did the apostles admit uninstructed converts from heathenism, to baptism and church privileges? We reply, the apostles acted according to the exigencies of the case. In preaching the gospel they pressed forward from city to city. They made and baptized converts, without remaining long enough, in some instances, to form them into a regular church. But suppose they did organize churches; had they fellow laborers whom they could ordain over them as permanent pastors, and who were able to feed them with knowledge and understanding? Certainly not. In some cases, all they could do, was to baptize, or, as was more common, direct others to baptize, those who declared their faith in Christ, and leave them: in other cases, they perhaps organized churches and spent a few weeks, or at most, months with them. Even then, their efforts during their stay were directed chiefly to the conversion of sinners, and not to the instruction of those who had already believed * Hence the necessity which there was, that Paul should write extended epistles to the churches gathered by his labors—not merely, or chiefly to comfort them under their trials, but to instruct them in the *elementary* doctrines and duties of the gospel. They were not able to bear strong meat, but as babes required to be fed with "the milk of the word."

It is obvious, therefore, that very peculiar circumstances led the apostles to adopt the practice of immediately baptizing their converts, and admitting them by this rite, into the congregation of

* We wish this suggestion may be duly weighed. At Corinth and at Ephesus, Paul spent a considerable time. Why then did he not more fully instruct his converts at these places? Luke's brief notices of his labors, give the answer. Whoever considers the extent of divine influence on these cities, the number of Jews and the concourse of strangers in them, the spirit of inquiry concerning this new sect, which was so widely awakened, and the amazing success of the gospel, will see that Paul must have had other engagements on his hands. Doubtless in both of these places, all the time that he could command, was spent in reasoning and disputing concerning the faith of the gospel. The converts were delivered in charge to others. He did not even baptize them, (1 Cor. i. 14—17,) so greatly was he engrossed in discharging the weightier duties of his high commission.

visible believers, and probably to the Lord's supper ; and this without any reference to membership in a particular church, or even giving them a *right*, as a matter of course, to such membership. By this means, they were solemnly set apart from the unbelieving world, visibly associated with Christ's disciples, and fortified, as far as practicable, against temptation and apostasy. Under existing exigencies, this course might be expedient, notwithstanding the objections which weighed against its adoption. It was a choice between evils : but the peculiar reasons for adopting it, have ceased. We have regularly organized churches, settled pastors, and abundant means of christian instruction. There are few temptations to apostasy ; and a convert who cannot bear the probation of a few months for the purposes of self-examination, religious instruction and trial, is better out of the church than in it.* On the other hand we have nothing to check that enthusiasm or rash zeal, which might prompt an ignorant and self-deceived man to press into the church. There are many influences to urge him forward, and few to hold him back. It is necessary, therefore, that pastors should act with a sound discretion in this matter. They should discourage hasty profession on the one hand, and guard against unreasonable delay on the other. They should early gather new converts into a class for special oversight and instruction—particularly for instruction in the peculiar duties and responsibilities connected with a public profession of religion. If the pastor is over-burdened with labors, the elders and deacons can assist him in this department. The course of instruction here designated, should be faithfully pursued ; and from this class of catechumens, candidates for church privileges should from time to time be selected.†

A practice not unlike this, is known to have existed, very early in the church ; and some have even thought, that there are allusions to it, in the later epistles of the New Testament. However this may be, we know, that it obtained in the purest and brightest days of the christian institution, and at a period so early as to give to it great weight as an example. This fact also shows in what light

* The case of unconverted persons in the church, is fearful. A minister of large opportunities of observation, has said, that ninety-nine out of a hundred die in the same spiritual state in which they enter the church. What a responsibility this imposes on pastors.

† We can hardly express our sense of the importance of reviving in our churches, this primitive practice. Aside from its influence in guarding them against the intrusion of unsound professors, we believe that its value will be found to be great, as the means of elevating the standard of piety among those who are true believers. There is no period in the history of a christian's life, when good impressions are made more indelibly, than that which intervenes, between his conversion and public dedication to God. It is a season of peculiar tenderness. A single remark, at this time, may stamp the character for life.

the earlier and more distinguished among the Fathers, regarded apostolic precedent, so far as it bears upon this point. They did not esteem it authoritative; and from the singular pains they took in instructing converts from heathenism, before admitting them to membership in the church, it may fairly be presumed that in their day, the evils of a more hasty and less cautious course were apparent.

We have thus extended our remarks on the point in debate, because, as already suggested, we feel it to be one of great moment; and one which has not been as fully considered as its importance demands. We shall feel ourselves happy, if the considerations which we have here brought forward, shall shed light on the path of christian duty, and be instrumental in correcting erroneous views.

What can be of deeper interest to the christian cause, than the character of our churches? This character depends on that of the individual members. We speak not without opportunities of observation, when we say, that the practice of speedy admission to church privileges, is sure to corrupt the church by filling it with false professors, and men of doubtful piety. It does indeed add to the church,—but it is an addition of weakness, and not of strength. The numerical power of the body is augmented, but its moral influence is, in a far greater ratio, diminished. In times of revival, ministers are strongly tempted from various sources, speedily to gather in the fruits of their labors. They are prone to regard the strength of the church, as depending chiefly on its numbers. A vain ambition of swelling the list of their converts, and multiplying the number of their communicants, may also insidiously steal its way into the heart, and exert an undue bias. But let them beware. If they make too great haste in this matter, the joy of to-day will be turned into mourning to-morrow. They will find, in the day of trial, that many will openly apostatize, or what is perhaps worse for the cause of Christ, sink down to the level of a decent morality, and there remain as immoveable, as cold, and as barren, as the rocks of our mountains. They indulge in no sins, perhaps, which subject them to discipline: but they continue in the church, a standing occasion of taunt and reproach with the man of the world,—a grief to the pious,—the heaviest burden of the pastor, and the most fatal of all hinderances, to the success of his labors. This is not speculation. We testify what we have seen, and known, and deplored.

We have alluded to the importance of elevating the standard of piety in the christian church. The subject is one of transcendent interest; and we had intended to close this article, with some remarks upon it. But our limits compel us to defer, for the present, the consideration of a topic, at once so copious and so momentous.

ART. IV.—REVIEW OF GRAHAME'S HISTORY OF EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

Pitkin.

The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America, till the British Revolution in 1683. By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq. London: 1827. 2 Vols. pp. 531 and 527.

THE two volumes whose title we have placed at the head of this article, have lately appeared from a London press; and are, as the author informs us, "the first of a threefold series of works, which, when completed, will form *"The History of the United States of North America, from the plantation of the English Colonies, to the establishment of their Independence."*

The plan of the author embraces those British provinces, which at the era of the American revolution, formed the confederacy of the United States; "the illustration," to use his own expression, "of the rise and formation of this great republic, being the end of his labors."

The volumes before us, contain the American colonial history, to the time of the British revolution, or to about the close of the seventeenth century. In the two succeeding volumes, we are promised a continuation of our colonial history, to the commencement of the American revolution; and the two last volumes, making six in the whole, are to embrace the history of the revolution itself, and the establishment of the North American republic.

The author has undertaken a task of no ordinary difficulty as well as magnitude; a task, which no individual either in Europe or America, has yet fully accomplished. The materials necessary for a complete and faithful execution of a plan so extensive, as that contemplated by the author of the two volumes before us, are not only very numerous, but are widely scattered in the two worlds. In the collection and examination of these materials, much time as well as expense, is requisite. Nor do these materials consist merely of printed documents, but of innumerable manuscripts and records to be sought in different States of the Union, and in various countries of Europe, particularly Great Britain, France, Holland, and Spain.

When a foreigner presents us with a history of our own country, the first and most natural inquiry is, 'from what sources he has derived his information;' and the second, not perhaps less important, 'what are his qualifications, for a faithful execution of the task he has undertaken?' We wish to be acquainted with his political, and even religious opinions, biasses, and prepossessions. Whether he is so wedded to the habits and manners, as well as to the political and religious institutions of the old world, as to be unable

to form a just and proper estimate of those of the new. Whether he comes among us, like some modern traveler, under the mask of impartiality, and with a professed desire of ascertaining the truth, but in reality to confirm his own preconceived and self-sufficient opinions; to exaggerate, to misrepresent, and to make a false report.

We know little of Mr. Grahame, who has thus commenced a series of American history, except from his own account in the volumes under consideration. From his name, and the dedication of his work to his father of Whitehall, Lanarkshire, Scotland, we conclude, he is by birth a Scotsman.

With respect to the sources of his information, Mr. Grahame states, that he found the public libraries of Great Britain very imperfectly provided with the materials of American history. After obtaining by loan or purchase all the additional works which he could procure in that country, he was compelled to resort to the library of Göttingen, where he "found an ampler collection of North American literature than any, and indeed than all the libraries of Britain could supply." That this admirable repository should be richer in the materials of European history than any similar establishment in Great Britain, would not excite our surprise. But that Englishmen should be compelled to resort to Germany for the history of their own early settlements, in a country which is distant more than three thousand miles from the continent of Europe, is certainly a remarkable fact. In addition to these means of information, Mr. Grahame has had access to the library and papers of the late George Chalmers, for many years clerk of the Board of Trade, and author of that well-known work, the *Political Annals*. Mr. Chalmers first commenced his acquaintance with colonial history, in this country. Prior to the American revolution, as Mr. Grahame inform us, he emigrated to the colonies, and settled as a lawyer at Baltimore; but adhering to the royal cause, he returned to England, and was rewarded by an appointment from the Board of Trade. His *Political Annals* were written while he was clerk of this board; and as they are often referred to, in this country, as well as in England, we shall here subjoin what Mr. Grahame says of the author, as well as of the work itself.

Perhaps no other writer has combined such elaborate research of facts, with such temerity of opinion, and such glaring inconsistency of sentiment, as the "*Political Annals*" of this writer display. The American provinces, though little indebted to his favorable opinion, owe the most important illustration of their history to his industrious researches. Some of the particulars of his own early history may perhaps account for the peculiarities of his American politics. A Scotsman by birth, he had emigrated to Maryland, and settled at Baltimore as a lawyer, when the revo-

lutionary contest in which he adhered to the royal cause, blasted all his prospects, and compelled him to take refuge in England, where his unfortunate loyalty and distinguished attainments, procured him an honorable appointment from the board of trade. The first (and only) volume of his *Annals* was composed while he hoped that the royal cause would yet prevail in America, and was intended as an apology for his party. His labors were discontinued when the cause and party to which they were devoted, had evidently perished. Though a strong vein of toryism pervades all his pages, he is at times unable to restrain an expression of indignant contempt, at particular instances of the conduct of the kings and ministers, whose general policy he labors to vindicate.

In the facts relative to the *early* history of our country, Mr. Grahame, as appears by his reference to authors, has relied principally on the historical accounts of the different colonies, which, have been published both in Europe and America; and with most of which the American reader will find himself already acquainted. He has referred, however, to some works of an early date, not so generally known in this country. Among these we notice Archdale's statistical and historical description of Carolina, 'a work' says Mr. Grahame, 'replete with so much good sense, benevolence and piety, that it is surprising it should never have been reprinted';—Dunton's travels in New-England;—Denton's New-York;—Alsop's Maryland;—Blome's account of the American provinces, and Gabriel Thomas' history of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey.

Mr. Grahame very frankly avows his strong predilections in favor of America and the *colonial side*, in the controversies between the colonists and the British government; and in entering on the history of our early settlements, he pays a just tribute of praise to the character of our fathers, and to the wisdom of their institutions. This tribute from a foreigner, cannot fail to be read with pleasure, by every American, who reveres the memory of his ancestors, and cherishes a love for their principles.

"History," says the author in his preface, "addresses her lessons to all mankind: but when she records the fortunes of an existing people, it is to them that her admonitions are specially directed. There has never been a people on whose character their own historical recollections were calculated to exert a more animating and salutary influence, than the nation whose history I have undertaken to relate.

"In national societies established after the manner of the United States of North America, history does not begin with obscure or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly known. The people may obtain an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the character of their earliest national ancestry, and of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes, has devolved to themselves. When this interesting knowledge is blended with the information that their existence as a people originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition, by which their liberty and happiness have been extended and secured, has arisen from the

exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and pledge of virtue; the whole nation feels itself ennobled by ancestors, whose renown will continue to the end of time, the honor or reproach of their successors; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion. If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself *a citizen of no mean city*, a North American may feel a grateful exultation in avowing himself the native of no ignoble land, but of a land that has yielded as great an increase of glory to God and of happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, since the first syllable of recorded time, has ever had the honor of producing.

A nobler model of human character could hardly be proposed to the inhabitants of New-England, Pennsylvania and others of the North American states, than that which their own early history supplies. It is, at once their interest and their honor to preserve with sacred care a model so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. The memory of the saints and heroes whom they claim as their natural and national ancestors will bless all those who account it blessed, and the ashes of their fathers will give forth a nobler influence than the bones of the prophet of Israel, in reviving piety and invigorating virtue.

So much, at the same time, of human weakness and imperfection is discernible in the conduct or is attested by the avowals of these eminent men, and so steady and explicit was their reference to heavenly aid, of all the good they were enabled to perform or attain, that the admiration they so strongly claim never exceeds a just subordination to the glory of the most High, and enforces the scriptural testimony to the riches of divine grace, and the reflected lustre of human virtue.

The volumes under consideration are divided into seven books, embracing the separate history of Virginia, New-England, Maryland, North and South Carolina, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

In this compendious history of the first settlement of these colonies, and the causes which led to it, the American reader who is conversant with our early colonial histories, will find little that is new. They have the advantage, however, of presenting a condensed and separate statement of the early transactions in each colony; and on this account, may be read with profit by all, who have not had access to the original sources of information, and with pleasure by those who wish briefly to review scenes, with which they are in no small degree familiar. We cannot too often bring to our recollection the noble daring of our ancestors, and the virtuous motives, which led them to forsake their native homes, and to found an empire in the new world. These, together with their unprecedented situation and peculiar feelings on leaving forever their native shores, (particularly those destined for New-England,) are happily as well as justly described by the author of these volumes.

"The regret," says Mr. Grahame, "which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconveniences of a long voyage, to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and for the formidable

scene of trial and danger that confronted them, in the barbarous land where so many preceding adventurers had found an untimely grave, seemed to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, sustained by the worth and dignity of the purpose, which they had combined to pursue. Their hearts were knit to each other by a community of generous design; and they experienced none of those jealousies which inevitably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among men unequally qualified to attain the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers, but it had long ceased to wear an aspect of parental kindness towards them and in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which its saints and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom by kindling and preserving there the sacred fires of religion and liberty, which so many efforts were made to extinguish in the shrines of England, whence they carried their embers. They confidently hoped that the religious and political sentiments which had languished under such protracted persecution in Europe, would now, at length, shine forth in their full lustre in America. Establishing an asylum where the professors of their sentiments might at all times find shelter, they justly expected to derive continual accessions to the vigor of their own virtue, from the resolute character of men, who might hereafter be prompted to forsake their native habitations, and be willing like them, to *recognize their country wherever they could find the lineaments of truth and liberty.* Vol. I. pp. 247, 248.

With strong predilections in favor of the religious as well as political opinions of the first settlers of New-England, Mr. Grahame does not hesitate to condemn their errors. Their spirit of religious intolerance, a spirit which has subjected them to the reproaches of their enemies, and occasioned the regrets of their friends, has not escaped his animadversions. He notices more particularly the persecution of the Quakers. After stating the origin of Quakerism in England, and giving the character of its founder, he follows the Quakers to America. The turbulent and extremely indecent conduct of many of this sect of religionists, both in England and the colonies, is well known. It is equally well known, that in all the New-England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, they were liable to banishment; that in Massachusetts they were by law, subjected to the punishment of death, on their return from exile; and that under this law, four persons were actually condemned and executed. It is not perhaps so generally known, that in Virginia, a law equally severe with that in Massachusetts, was passed against the Quakers.

Having stated that in Virginia the doctrines and rites of the church of England were established by law, Mr. Grahame says, "There was a bloody law, which subjected Quakers returning from banishment, to the punishment of death, but no execution ever took place in consequence of this enactment, and it was repealed soon after the revolution of 1688." (Vol. I. p. 165.) The law here alluded to, was enacted in March, 1659-60, and subjected all masters of vessels to a penalty of £100 sterling for

each Quaker brought by them into the colony. All Quakers were to be imprisoned without bail or mainprize till they found sufficient security to depart the colony; they were to be proceeded against as contumacious of the laws and magistracy, and punished accordingly; and in case they came a third time into the colony they were to be prosecuted as *felons*. By the same law, all persons were prohibited, under the penalty of £100 sterling, from entertaining them, or permitting their assemblies *in or near their houses*; and no person was to dispose of, or publish any books or pamphlets containing the tenets of their religion.

Under the Virginia law no capital punishment ever took place; and it will be remembered, that in Massachusetts the law inflicting this severe punishment, met with great and at first successful opposition. The deputies, as those men were called, who constituted the popular branch of the legislature, at first rejected it; but afterwards, on re-consideration, concurred with the magistrates, (by whom it was originally proposed,) by a majority of one only. The execution of four of their brethren in Massachusetts was never forgotten by the Quakers. For this intolerant spirit in New-England, Mr. Grahame makes the usual apology.

But unfortunately a great proportion of the Puritans, at this period, were strongly infected with the prevalent error of the age, and regarded the peaceable existence of different sects in the same community as nearly impossible—a notion, which, it must be confessed, the treatment they received from their adversaries, tended very strongly to enforce. If it was right that they, who had suffered from persecution, should themselves abstain from what their own experience had feelingly shown to be so hateful and odious, it was natural that flying to deserts for the sake of particular opinions, they should expect to see these opinions unmolested and undisputed. The sufferings they had endured from their adversaries, they regarded as one of the legitimate consequences of the pernicious errors that these adversaries had imbibed, and they customarily regarded their opponents as the enemies of their persons, as well as the persecutors of their opinions.

The activity of government in support of the national opinion, they were far from condemning in the abstract. They admitted the legitimacy of such interposition, and condemned it only when it seemed to them erroneously directed. Even when oppressed themselves, they exclaimed against indiscriminate toleration. They contradicted so far their own principles; and maintained that human beings might and ought to punish what God alone could correct and alter. "Much," he adds, "might be urged and will doubtless suggest itself in extenuation of this error, which long remained a root of bitterness to disturb their peace and felicity. But the considerations which may be allowed to mitigate our censure of the intolerant spirit, which these people displayed, can never be permitted to transform it into a virtue. It was sharpened by the copious infusions which the colony received, of the feelings excited in England by the increased severity of persecution, from which the victims began to fly in increasing numbers to America.* Vol. I. pp. 353—355.

* It ought also to be remembered, that the Quakers, on their arrival in this country, were guilty of many excesses. They entered houses of public worship,

Our author has done ample justice to the humane conduct, and tolerant spirit of the noble founder of Maryland. Lord Baltimore, it is well known, as early as 1632, by virtue of a liberal charter from Charles I., became proprietor of this province. Being a Roman Catholic himself, one object which he had in view, was to secure in America, an asylum for those of his own religious persuasion. He however immediately granted religious toleration to all, who should settle within the limits of his grant; and this was afterwards confirmed by the assembly of the province, which met in 1649. Referring to the proceedings of this assembly, Mr. Grahame says,

It had been declared by the proprietary, at a very early period, that religious toleration should constitute one of the fundamental principles of the social union, over which he presided, and the assembly of the province, composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, now proceeded, by a memorable act concerning religion, to interweave this noble principle into its legislative institutions. This statute commenced with a preamble declaring that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries, where it had been practiced; and therefore enacted, that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ, should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against their assent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government. That persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets, should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary—That those, who should reproach their neighbors with opprobrious names of religious distinction, should forfeit ten shillings to the person insulted—That any one speaking reproachfully against the blessed Virgin or the apostles, should forfeit five pounds; but that blaspheming against God shall be punished with death. By the enactment of this statute," the author adds, "the Catholic planters of Maryland procured to their adopted country the distinguished praise of being the first of the American States, in which toleration was established by law, and graced their peculiar faith with the signal and unwonted merit of protecting that religious freedom, which all other christian associations were conspiring to overthrow. It is a striking and instructive spectacle to behold, at this period, the Puritans persecuting their protestant brethren in New-England; the Episcopalians retorting the same severity on the Puritans in Virginia, and the Catholics, against whom all the others were combined, forming in Maryland a sanctuary where all might worship, and none might oppress, and where even Protestants sought refuge from Protestant intolerance.

We must confess, we had never been so forcibly struck with the liberal and tolerant spirit of the noble founder of Maryland, and his associates, till this author had placed it in such bold relief,

during divine service, and disturbed the congregation by noise and insult. The punishments inflicted in this State, arose, it is believed, chiefly from these causes.—Ed.

and in contrast with the religious intolerance of the first settlers of Virginia and New-England. Most of the American histories, with which we have been conversant, have but slightly noticed this liberality of the founders of Maryland; and without according to it, that degree of praise which, in our opinion, it merits, especially when we consider the general principles of his church on this subject. We cannot but deeply regret, that a regard to truth, has compelled the author to state, that this liberality was afterwards ill requited by those very protestants, who partook of its benefits. On this subject Mr. Grahame proceeds to say,

It had been happy for the credit of the protestants, whose hostility perhaps enforced the moderation of the Catholics of Maryland, if they had imitated the virtue, which their own apprehended violence may have tended to elicit. But, unfortunately, a great proportion even of those, who were constrained to seek refuge among the Catholics, from the persecutions of their own Protestant brethren, carried with them into exile the same intolerance, of which themselves had been the victims, and the Presbyterians and other dissenters, who now began to flock, in considerable numbers, from Virginia to Maryland, gradually formed a Protestant confederacy against the interests of the original settlers; and with ingratitude still more odious than their injustice, projected the abrogation, not only of the Catholic worship, but of every part of that system of toleration, under whose shelter they were enabled to conspire its downfall. But though the Catholics were thus ill-requited by their Protestant guests, it would be a mistake to suppose that the calamities that subsequently desolated the province were produced by the toleration, which her assembly now established, or that the Catholics were really losers by this act of justice and liberality. From the disposition of the prevailing party in England, and the state of the other colonial settlements, the catastrophe that overtook the liberties of the Maryland Catholics could not possibly have been evaded: and if the virtue they now displayed was unable to avert their fate, it exempted them, at least, from the reproach of deserving it; it redoubled the guilt and scandal incurred by their adversaries, and achieved for themselves a reputation more lasting and honorable than political triumph or temporal elevation. What christian, however sensible of the errors of Catholic doctrine, would not rather be the descendant of the Catholics who established toleration in Maryland, than of the Protestants who overthrew it? Vol. II. pp. 23—25.

The Protestant confederacy above mentioned, proceeded so far against their benefactors, as to present to William and Mary, in the early part of their reign, various charges against the proprietor, and to which he was summoned to make answer before the privy council. But Mr. Grahame informs us, "that it was found impossible to convict him of any other charge, than that of holding a different faith from the men by whom he had been so ungratefully persecuted, and so calumniously traduced."

He was only permitted, however, to retain his property in the province;—by an order of Council, he was deprived of his right in the government; and the famous Sir Edmund Andros was appointed the King's Governor, in his room.

"Thus," Mr. Grahame very justly remarks, "fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after an endurance of fifty-six years, during which it had been administered with unexampled mildness, and with a regard to the liberty and welfare of the people, that deserved a very different requital from that, which I have had the pain of recording. The slight notice which the policy of this Catholic legislator has received from the philosophic encomiasts of liberal institutions, strongly attests the capricious distribution of fame, and may probably have proceeded from dislike of his religious tenets, which it was foreseen would share the commendation bestowed on their votary. It was apprehended, perhaps, that the charge of intolerance, so strongly preferred against Catholic potentates and the Romish church, would be weakened by the praise of a toleration, which Catholics established and Protestants overthrew."

Mr. Walsh, in his Appeal, was among the first in this country to bring fully into public notice the liberal and tolerant conduct of the first settlers of Maryland. The author of the biography of Charles Carroll, a descendant of the Maryland Catholics, and the only survivor of those, whose names must always be associated with their country's glory, also alludes to this religious controversy in that province. He informs us, that the father of the present Mr. Carroll, was actively engaged in this controversy, and was one of the leaders and most influential members of the party in that province; and that, but for a relaxation of the laws against the Catholics, he would, probably with his family, have removed to Louisiana. Had this happened, our country, in the great contest for religious and political liberty, which afterwards followed, would have been deprived of the influence and efforts of one, whom more perhaps than any other person living, it now delights to honor.

While Mr. Grahame thus gives to Maryland the praise of being the first of the American colonies, in which toleration was established by law, he declares that Rhode-Island was at that time, "the only one of the protestant settlements, in which the *principle* of toleration was recognized, and even there, *Roman Catholics* were excluded from participating in the political rights that were enjoyed by the rest of the community." Although Chalmers and others, from whom no doubt, our author derived his information, have declared, that by a law passed in Rhode-Island as early as in 1664, Roman Catholics were thus excluded; yet a gentleman of that state, Mr. Eddy, distinguished for his knowledge of its early history, and his researches into its legislative proceedings, has lately called in question the correctness of this statement, and has declared that no such law, at that period, is to be found on record. Yet Dr. Holmes in his new and valuable edition of 'American Annals,' as well as his able reviewer, still inclines to

the opinion, that Chalmers and others could not be mistaken on this point.

In some parts of the work before us, the author has not sufficiently attended to dates. In some instances he has brought together facts belonging to different periods, and to different persons, and in others has not consulted, or has not sufficiently compared, the best authorities. This, we apprehend, is the case, in his account of the first attempts to settle Massachusetts. After referring to an adventure of this kind by Weston and his associates, in 1622, he says ;

In the following year an attempt of great importance was made, under the patronage of the grand council of Plymouth, which bestowed on Captain Gorges, the leader of the expedition, the title of governor general of the whole country, with an ample endowment of arbitrary power, and on a clergyman whom he had brought with him, the office of bishop and superintendent of the churches. But New-England "he adds," was not in such a condition, that an establishment of this description, could take root in it; and the governor and his bishop deserted their charge, and made haste to return to a climate more congenial to the growth of temporal dominion and ecclesiastical dignity.

Mr Grahame has here evidently confounded a trivial project of settlement under Capt. Robert Gorges in 1623, with an extensive design, adopted about twelve years afterwards, by Archbishop Laud and others, (while intrusted by Charles I. with the government of the colonies,) of abrogating the charter of Massachusetts, of sending over a governor general with arbitrary powers, and of making a splendid church establishment in America, but which was never carried into execution.

Mr. Hutchinson gives a very different account of the expedition of Capt. Gorges.

"Capt. Robert Gorges," says Hutchinson, "obtained a patent from the council of Plymouth, dated December 13th, 1622, ten miles in breadth, and thirty miles into the land on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay.

"This was loose and uncertain and no use was made of it. He was son to Sir Ferdinando, and employed by the council in 1623, as lieutenant general to restrain interlopers and regulate all affairs. He made some attempts to revive Weston's plantation, but returned home the same year, without success."

The extraordinary delusion which, for a time prevailed in New-England, respecting witchcraft, could not escape the notice of Mr. Grahame. "The first trials for witchcraft in New-England," he says, "occurred in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. Goffe, the regicide, in his diary, records the conviction of three others at Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1662; and remarks that, after one of them was hanged, the young woman who had been bewitched, was restored to health."

The diary of Goffe is referred to in a note by Hutchinson, and from him was, no doubt, taken by Mr. Grahame. The latter, however, must have overlooked what Dr. Trumbull has stated on this subject, in the preface to his history of Connecticut; or he would have expressed some doubt, whether credit should be given to the diary of Goffe. "It may possibly," says Dr. Trumbull, "be thought a great neglect or matter of partiality, that no account is given of witchcraft in Connecticut. The only reason is, that after the most careful researches, no indictment of any person for that crime, nor any process relative to that affair, can be found. The minute in Goffe's journal, published by Governor Hutchinson, relative to the execution of Ann Coles, and an obscure tradition, that one or two persons were executed at Stratford, is all the information to be found relative to that unhappy affair!"

Our author, we presume, has never visited America, and has not therefore, had the best opportunity of becoming acquainted with the new light, which more elaborate researches have lately thrown upon some portion of our early colonial history. He is excusable, therefore, in placing reliance on the early American historians. In his account of Virginia, relying on the authority of Beverly and others, he has continued some of their errors respecting the political state of that colony, during the protectorate of Cromwell. Like them, he has told us, that, during the reign of the Protector, the navigation acts were rigorously enforced there, and that all the governors of that colony were appointed by him. Late researches, however, into the records of that state, and the late collection and publication of all its laws, from the earliest settlement, comprised in thirteen volumes, incontestably prove the incorrectness of these statements.

The industrious collector and publisher of those laws, Mr. Herring, referring to the situation of Virginia, during the period alluded to, says,

The commerce of Virginia was even more free than that of the mother country. None of the restrictions of the act of navigation were felt. The vessels of all nations were admitted into their ports; and a duty of ten shillings a hogshead imposed on all tobacco exported and shipped to any part of America, or *elsewhere*, except in English vessels directly bound to England; from the payment of which duty, vessels belonging to the Virginians were afterwards exempted. Finally the assembly passed "an act asserting the right of the colony to a free trade with all nations in *amity with the people* of England, and compelled all masters of vessels to give bond, in the penalty of £2000 sterling, not to molest any person trading here under the protection of the law." Mr. Herring adds, "That so far were the assembly from erecting the royal standard and proclaiming Charles II. at the time when they elected Sir William Berkely governor, that by the very first act of the same session, they expressly took the power of government into their own hands and directed that all writs should issue in the name of the grand assembly."

After the colony had submitted to the commissioners, sent out by parliament, a provisional government was established, until the pleasure of parliament should be known. This was done at a grand assembly, held at James' City in April, 1652.

The proceedings of this assembly on this subject, are thus stated on the records. "After long and serious debate and advice taken for the settling and governing of Virginia, it was unanimously voted and concluded by the commissioners appointed here by authority of parliament, and by the burgesses of the several counties and plantations respectively, until the farther pleasure of the States be known; that Richard Bennet be governor for this ensuing year, or until the next meeting of the assembly, with all the just powers and authorities that may belong to that place lawfully."

A council of state and secretary were elected at the same time, and were to execute their powers, according to such instructions as they might receive from the parliament of England, the known law of England, and the acts of assembly here established and all elections of officers were to be made by the burgesses. In March, 1655-6, Edmund Diggs was appointed governor, by the grand assembly, and in the same month of 1657-8, Samuel Matthews was chosen governor until the next assembly, or until the further pleasure of the supreme power in England be known; and the next year Matthews was re-appointed for two years longer. The governor and council, sometime in the year 1658, having undertaken to dissolve the house of burgesses, the house denied their power to do this; and in April, 1658, published the following declaration and had it entered on record.

The burgesses taking into consideration the many inlets and obstructions in the affairs of this assembly, and conceiving that some persons of the present council endeavor, by setting up their own power to destroy the apparent power resident only in the burgesses, representatives of the people, as is manifest by the records of the assembly:

We, the burgesses, do declare, that we have in ourselves the full power of the election and appointment of all officers in this country, until such time as we shall have order to the contrary from the supreme power in England, all which is evident upon the assembly records. And for the better manifestation thereof, and the present despatch of the affairs of this country, we declare as followeth: That we are not dissolvable by any power yet extant in Virginia, but our own,—that all former elections of governor and council be void and null. That the power of governor for the future be conferred on Samuel Matthews, Esq. who shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain general of Virginia, and that a council shall be nominated, appointed and confirmed by the present burgesses convened, (with the advice of the governor, for his assistance,) and that for the future none be admitted a councilor, but such who shall be nominated and confirmed by the house of burgesses, as aforesaid, until further order from the supreme power in England.

After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, the son of Oliver, the Virginians deemed it necessary again, by a special act, to take the power of government into their hands. "Whereas, by reason of the late distractions, (which God in his mercy hath put a sudden period to,) there being in England no resident, absolute and general confessed power,—Be it enacted and confirmed, that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly, and *that all writs issue in the name of the grand assembly of Virginia*, until such a command and commission come out of England, as be by the assembly judged lawful." The old governor Sir William Berkely, was at the same time elected governor by the assembly, and it was enjoined upon him to call an assembly once in two years at least, or oftener if necessary; and the same assembly gave him power to make choice of a council and secretary *with the approbation of the assembly*, and restrained him from dissolving the assembly, without the consent of the major part of the house. From these records it is evident that Cromwell, during his administration, appointed no governor in Virginia, and indeed had no agency in directing the affairs of that colony, but that the whole was managed by the house of burgesses.

In reviewing the policy of Great Britain in her commercial intercourse with her colonies, Mr. Grahame concurs with Adam Smith, in condemning the navigation acts, as they relate to the parent country, as well as to the colonies; and he very justly considers, that the modern discoveries in political science, have proved, that the intercourse between nations as between individuals, to be lasting and beneficial, should be "founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity and mutual subservience;" and that "to do as we would be done by, is not less the maxim of prudence, than the precept of piety." After referring to the British navigation acts and their effects, he says, "in such mistaken policy, nations are apt to be confirmed, by the interested representations of the few, who contrive to extract a temporary and partial advantage from every abuse, however generally pernicious; and if, in spite of the defects of its policy, the prosperity of the country should be increased, by the force of its natural advantages, this effect will be eagerly ascribed to the very causes that abridge, though they may be insufficient to prevent it. The discoveries, however, which the cultivation of political science has yielded, have in this respect confirmed the dictates of religion, and demonstrated, that, *in every transaction between nations and individuals, the intercourse most solidly and lastingly beneficial is that, which is founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity and mutual subservience*; that an indisposition to regard the interests of others, implies a narrow and perverted view of our own; and that to do as we

would be done by, is not less the maxim of prudence than the precept of piety."

Mr. Grahame views the conduct of the parent country in sending her convicted felons to her colonies, as equally unwise and unjust; and tells us, what we had not before noticed, that this practice first originated from a suggestion of chief justice Popham, made from interested motives. James the first, it is well known, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, adopted the measure of sending dissolute persons to Virginia. "He was indebted" says our author, "for the suggestion, to chief justice Popham, who, being a proprietor of colonial territory, as well as a judge, conceived the project of rendering the administration of justice subservient to his colonial designs, and had destined New-England in particular to anticipate the uses of Botany Bay."

The ill effects of this were so severely felt in Maryland, that as early as 1676, laws were passed by the assembly of that province, against the importation of convicts, and afterwards continued; but Mr. Grahame says he was unable to discover, whether any notice of these laws was taken by the British government. Our author must have overlooked the last work of Mr. Chalmers, the author of the *Political Annals*, containing "The opinions of eminent lawyers on various points of English jurisprudence, chiefly relating to the colonies, etc." printed in London, in 1814. He would have discovered, that those laws of Maryland, as well as a law of Virginia relative to the same subject, did not escape the notice of the crown, and were disallowed, as derogatory to royal and parliamentary authority.

In an appendix to the second volume, our author has given us what he calls, "State and prospects of the North American provinces at the close of the seventeenth century, and sentiments and opinions of the colonists respecting the *sovereignty* and *policy* of Great Britain, etc." These will be read with great interest by all, who revere the character of our ancestors, and who may wish to trace to their source, the causes of the American revolution.

"In the colonial establishments of the French, the Spaniards and the Portuguese," says Mr. Grahame, "the royal government was stronger and more arbitrary, and subordination more strictly enforced, than in the parent States. Illiberal institutions, remote from the power and splendor of the thrones to which they were allied, required to be guarded with peculiar strictness from the intrusion of opinions and practices that savored of freedom. It was otherwise," he remarks, "in the British colonies, where the grafts of constitutional liberty that had been transplanted from the parent State, expanded with a vigor proportioned to their distance from the rival shoots of royalty and aristocracy, with which they were theoretically connected. Not only did these colonies enjoy domestic constitutions favorable to liberty, but there existed in the minds of the great bulk of the people, a democratic spirit and resolution, that practically re-

duced the power of the parent State, even below the standard of its theory. Many causes seem to have contributed to the formation of this spirit, and to the production of sentiments and habits conducive to its efficacy.

"All the colonial charters were extorted by interest or importunity, from princes noted for arbitrary designs or perfidious characters; and no sooner had these charters produced the effect of collecting numerous and thriving communities in America, than some of them were, and all of them would have been annulled, if the dynasty of the Stuarts had been much farther prolonged. The designs of these princes were not entirely abandoned by their successors at the British revolution. For many years after, the American colonists were roused to continued contests in defense of their charters, which the English court made several attempts to qualify or annul. These defensive efforts, and the success with which they were crowned, tended powerfully to keep alive an active and vigilant spirit of liberty in America."

"Happily for the stability of American freedom," he adds, "it was impossible for the first generation of colonists to succeed in effecting their settlements, and attaining a secure and prosperous establishment, without the exercise of virtues, and the formation of a character, that guaranteed the preservation of the blessings, to which they had conducted. Even the calamities of French and Indian war with which some of the provinces long continued to be harassed, contributed to preserve a spirit and habits, without which their people might have been unable in the eighteenth century to achieve their independence. If the later settlements of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania were exempted, in some degree, from the discipline of those hardships and difficulties with which the commencement of all the other settlements was attended, they were happily peopled, in a great degree, by a class of sectaries, whose habits and manners were peculiarly favorable to industry and good morals, and congenial to the spirit of republican constitutions. The Quakers, indeed, have been much more successful in leavening American society with manners favorable to liberty, than with principles allied to their own political doctrines."

The various contests between the parent state and the colonies, from the first settlement of the latter, to the commencement of the eighteenth century, as well as afterwards, up to the beginning of the American revolution, evince most clearly, that the true political relation between the two countries was not perfectly ascertained or understood. A difference of opinion on this important question, as indicated in a variety of cases that occurred from the first commencement of the colonies, and finally on the great question of *parliamentary taxation*, led to a separation. On this subject the author very justly states;

A considerable variety and indistinctness of opinion prevailed, both in Europe and America, respecting the precise import of the political relation subsisting between the two countries. It was at first the maxim of the English court, that the *crown* was the only member of the British constitution which possessed jurisdiction over colonies. All the charters were framed in conformity with this maxim, except the charter of Pennsylvania. The colonies were by no means uniform in the sentiments which they expressed on this subject. They complained very generally of an unjust usurpation of power over them by the British parliament, when the navigation acts were passed; and openly maintained, on many

occasions, that an act of parliament was not binding on America. Yet they scrupled not to complain of their grievances to the houses of parliament, and to invoke from time to time, parliamentary interposition in their behalf. The New-England states alone seemed to have perceived, from the first, the advantages they might derive from adhering to the maxim, that they were politically connected only with the king, and not at all with the parliament; and with singular prudence forbore to ask favors from parliament, by which they were regarded with especial favor, lest they should seem to sanction parliamentary interference with their concerns. But the revolution of 1688, established firmly the supreme power of the parliament, and enforced the submission of America to its legislative control, and from this period, all the measures, by which the British government proposed to affect the public interests of the colonists, were pursued through the medium of parliamentary enactment. No taxation was *practically attempted* by the parliament, except what arose from the regulation of commerce; but a power was assumed to alter the American charters, or at least to modify the constitutions which these charters had created. There was one point, indeed, in which the relation of the colonies to the royal prerogative, seemed still to be acknowledged. It was not to the house of Lords, or to any of the ordinary tribunals of England, that appeals were carried from the judgments of the American courts, but to the king in council; and it was the same organ that enjoyed the power of modifying and rescinding the provincial laws which were deemed repugnant to English jurisprudence.

The colonists, Mr. Grahame remarks, submitted to the power of parliament with manifest reluctance, not from conviction, but necessity, "being overawed by the strength of Britain and encumbered by the dangerous vicinity of the French in Canada."

The trial of Culpepper in England, in 1688, under the statute of 35th of Henry VIII. for supposed high treason in Carolina, is given us by Mr. Grahame with greater particularity, than by most other historians. This trial and the circumstances attending it became more interesting, as it was about a century afterwards, considered by the British ministers, as a conclusive precedent for a similar proceeding against the people of Massachusetts. It is well known, that before the grant of the Carolinas to Lord Clarendon and others, settlements had been commenced in the northern parts of that province, not only by emigrants from New-England, but also from Virginia. The latter had planted themselves at a place called Albermarle, and the proprietaries allowed them a government by themselves, in which the people had the greatest share. Here was a place of refuge for criminals, and an asylum for fugitive debtors. Persons of the latter description, were by a most extraordinary law, protected against civil suits for any cause of action arising beyond the limits of the settlement, for the term of five years after their arrival, and all the inhabitants were prohibited from accepting powers of attorney from abroad, for the recovery of debts. The New-Englanders, at a very early period, commenced a trade with these settlers, and about the year 1676, had obtained a complete

monopoly of it. The tobacco which they received in exchange for articles furnished the inhabitants, was by them carried to all parts of Europe, contrary to the navigation acts; these acts being at that time, entirely disregarded by the merchants of New-England. These traders, as Mr Grahame inform us, had penetrated into the interior of the province, and brought their goods to every man's door; and "had obtained a monopoly of the produce of Albemarle, and habituated the planters to a traffic, which they preferred on account of its ease and simplicity, to the superior emolument of more distant commercial transactions." The proprietaries were determined to divert this trade directly to Great Britain, and with this view, they sent out a new governor by the name of Eastchurch; and one Miller was, by the commissioners of the customs, appointed the first collector of the duties in the province. Eastchurch being detained in the West Indies, Miller was by him sent forward to act as governor, as well as collector of the customs.

He (Miller) was reproached, and perhaps justly, with some arbitrary exertions of power; but the rock on which his authority finally split, was an attempt to promote a more direct trade with Britain, and with the other colonies, in order to destroy the monopoly enjoyed by the traders of New-England, whom the proprietaries regarded as injudicious rivals, and dangerous associates of the people of Carolina. At length, *on the arrestment of a New-England trader*, who was accused of smuggling, an insurrection broke forth among the settlers of Pasquetanke, one of the districts of Albemarle; and the flame quickly spread through the whole colony. The insurgents were chiefly conducted by Culpepper, who had formerly excited commotions in the settlement of Ashley river, and whose experience, in such enterprizes, seems to have formed his sole recommendation to the regard of his present associates. As the government possessed no power capable of withstanding them, they soon acquired undisputed possession of the country; and having deposed the president, who was the chief object of their indignation, they committed him and seven of the proprietary deputies to prison. They seized the royal revenue, amounting to three thousand pounds, which they appropriated to the support of the revolt; they established courts of justice, appointed officers, convoked a parliament, inflicted punishments on all who presumed to oppose them, and, for several years, exercised the authority of an independent government.

Culpepper and one Holden were afterwards sent to England by the insurgents, to offer submission to the proprietaries, on condition of their proceedings being ratified, and Miller declared and treated as a delinquent. Miller and others, who had been imprisoned, made their escape, and about the same time appeared in England, with their complaints. The proprietaries were divided among themselves, and did not act with decision, and Shaftsbury openly encouraged Culpepper.

"Thus powerfully supported," says Mr. Grahame, "Culpepper seemed to have prevailed over his opponents, and was preparing to return

to Carolina, when he was accused by the commissioners of the customs, (at the private instigation, most probably, of the palatine, and others of the proprietaries,) of the offenses of acting as collector without their authority, and of embezzling the king's revenue. He was seized on board a vessel in the Downs, under a warrant from the privy council; and his case being referred to the committee of plantations, the proprietaries no longer scrupled, nor indeed could in decency refuse, to come forward as his accusers; in consequence of which, the report of the committee impeached him, not only of embezzlement of the customs, but of having promoted a rebellion in the province. It was in vain for him to acknowledge the facts, and beg for mercy, or at least that he might be sent for trial to Carolina, where the offense had been committed; his powerful avengers were determined to wreck the uttermost vengeance on so daring an opponent of legitimate authority, and by virtue of a statute of Henry the Eighth, which enacted that *foreign treasons* might be tried in England, he was brought to trial in the court of king's bench, on an indictment of high treason committed without the realm." "His destruction," adds Mr. Grahame, "at first appeared inevitable; for the judges pronounced, that to take up arms against the proprietary government was treason against the king; and the amplest evidence was produced of every circumstance requisite to constitute the crime. But Shaftsbury, who was then in the meridian of his popularity, appearing in behalf of the prisoner, and representing, contrary to the most undoubted facts, that there had never been any regular government in Albemarle, and that its disorders were mere feuds between the planters, which at worst could amount to no higher offense than a riot, easily prevailed with the jury to return a verdict of acquittal." Vol. II. p. 122.

This is the famous case, which, nearly a century after, was deemed of sufficient authority to warrant the king and parliament, in ordering the people of Boston who had been guilty of an affray or riot, in consequence of the seizure of the ship *Liberty* by the commissioners of the revenue, to be transported to England, and there tried for high treason under the same statute of Henry the Eighth. And it is not a little singular, that in both instances the riots immediately originated from the same cause; in the seizure of New-England vessels, for breaches of the navigation acts.

While the author of the work under consideration has stated, that, "no encouragement seems ever to have been given by the English government to the cultivation of science and literature in the American provinces, except in the solitary instance of a donation by William and Mary, in aid of the college which took its name from them in Virginia;" he has done justice to the literary character, and institutions of the colonists themselves. The policy of the parent state in this respect was indicated at different times, by some of the royal governors.

Sir William Berkley, at an early period, as is well known, thanked God, that there were no free schools or printing presses in Virginia, and he added, "I hope we shall not have them here these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects in the world, and printing has divulged them, and pro-

duced libels against the best government: God keep from us both!" And another baronet, Sir William Keith, afterwards said, "as to the college erected in Virginia, and other designs of the like nature, which have been proposed for the encouragement of learning, it is only to be observed in general, that although great advantages may accrue to the mother state both from the *labor* and *luxury* of its plantations, yet they will probably be mistaken, who imagine that the *advancement* of *literature* and the *improvement* of *arts* and *sciences*, in our American colonies, can be of any service to the British state." In accordance with the same policy, the king and council, always disallowed every act of the general court of Massachusetts, enlarging the power of the corporation of Harvard College; principally because the general court refused to yield to the king and his governor the power of visitation.

This policy very fortunately was counteracted by the colonists themselves, even in those provinces which were subjected to royal governors and councils.

The college of William and Mary in Virginia, was granted on the application of the Virginians themselves; and in obtaining this charter, as well as other charters for similar institutions from the legislatures of some of the colonies, as well as in the establishment of common schools, the clergy were the most efficient actors. The agent of Virginia, who obtained the charter from William and Mary, was a clergyman of the church of England; and he met with no little difficulty, from the opposition of some of the legal advisers of the crown.

Although, in the work before us, we could expect little that was new, respecting the character and institutions of the first settlers of New-England, yet we cannot but feel gratified, when a foreigner pays a tribute of praise, which we deem justly due, to the literary as well as religious worth of our ancestors.

"New-England," says Mr. Grahame, "having been colonized by men, not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at a very early period, by the labors of her scholars, and the dedication of her literature to the interests of religion. The theological works of Cotton, Hooker, the Mathers and other New-England divines, have always enjoyed a very high degree of esteem and popularity, not only in New-England, but in every protestant country of Europe. The annals of the colony, and the biography of its founders and their immediate successors, were written by contemporary historians with a minuteness, which was very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which they were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their country had been honored with the signal favor and more especial guidance and direction of Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed the writers into the faults of prolixity, enforced, by the strongest sanctions, the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Accordingly, what they considered the peculiar dealings of God with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their

countrymen; nor did they desire to magnify the divine *grace* in the infusion of human virtue, above the divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. The errors and failings of the illustrious men, whose lives they related, gave additional weight to the impression, which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New-England was an extraordinary work of heaven, that the counsel and virtue by which it had been carried on, were not of human origin, and that the glory of God had been displayed, no less in imparting the strength and wisdom, than in overruling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he designed to employ." And he adds, that "the education and habits of the people of New-England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was calculated to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first colonial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlement." Vol. I. pp. 490—493.

The settlers of New-England, were, it is believed, the first people in the world, who made provision by law, for general education. Whatever patronage might have been previously afforded by individuals to the parish schools in Scotland, no legislative provision for their support was made in that kingdom, till 1696. In Massachusetts, as early as 1647, a general law was passed on this subject. The clergy and civilians united in this important object; and they were alike determined among themselves, and without the aid of European seminaries, to give their children that instruction which they deemed necessary to preserve and perpetuate those principles, for which they had made such sacrifices.

With this object in view, a college was founded in that colony, as early as 1638, called after the name of the clergyman, who was its principal benefactor. Sixty years afterwards another similar institution, and with similar views, was founded in Connecticut. These two colleges have been the favorites of New-England; they have sent forth a greater number of educated young men, than any, perhaps all the other colleges in America; and so long as New-England men and manners shall be found, the names of the generous founders and benefactors of those institutions will be remembered and revered.

The "grammar schools," as they are called, were established by law in New-England, for the purpose of affording the necessary preparation for higher stations in those colleges.

The number of clergymen, at the first settlement of America, and for many years after, was much greater in the New-England colonies, than in the others. This was owing, among other things, to the motives which induced the settlement of this portion of the new world, the density of the population, and the ease with which clergymen were supported. The Virginia colonists, in

1656, were so destitute of ministers, that some legislative encouragement for their settlement in the province, was deemed necessary. In March of that year, a law was passed, granting the sum of twenty pounds sterling to any person, who should, at his own cost and charges, "transport a sufficient minister into the colony."

Mr. Grahame informs us, that about the year 1696, in consequence of an application of some of the planters in Carolina, an association was formed at Dorchester in Massachusetts, "to encourage the settlement of churches, and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations," and that in the same year, the persons thus associated, with their minister, removed to a place near Charleston, which was called Dorchester.

But the extent to which we have insensibly been led, admonishes us, that the patience of our readers must be exhausted, and that it is time to conclude. We would observe however that, as the work under consideration, has not, to our knowledge, been reprinted in this country, and as few of the London copies have fallen under our observation, we have been more liberal in our extracts on this account; presuming that the sentiments and opinions of a foreigner, respecting the character and institutions of the founders of our great republic, so much in accordance with our own, could not be read, without some degree of pleasure, as well as pride.

ART. V.—REVIEW OF THE LIVES OF MATHER AND HENRY.

Andrew.

Life of the Rev. Colton Mather, pastor of a church in Boston. By his son, the REV. SAMUEL MATHER: Boston: 1729.

Memoirs of the life, character, and writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry. By I. B. WILLIAMS, Esq. 3d edition, London: 1829.

So dark and distressing, in itself considered, as our removal from this world must necessarily be, who does not desire, in the sober exercise of his better judgment, that when that event shall occur in relation to himself, he may be ready to meet it with a strong assurance, that it will be to him but the signal of a translation to a purer and more exalted state of being? To live only for this world, when we are so soon to leave it, must be any thing rather than the dictate of wisdom. To squander our time, and exhaust our strength, in the acquisition of mere earthly good, *must* to the eye of reason, be the most dreadful impertinence and trifling. A name and a fortune on earth, yea, the very proudest and most splendid of them all—what are they, when the true and real design of this life is contemplated, and the consequences

of its being well or ill spent, are soberly considered ! The question of our final welfare, is surely not a question of slight and easily magnified importance. When, amid the hurry of our engagements here, we stop and think of the immortality of the soul ; of the doctrine of man's accountability to his maker, (felt to be true in the secret consciousness of every bosom ;) and of the revealed recompenses of eternity ; who can seriously regard it as a question of little moment, " How this life is to be passed away ? " Who does not wish to learn, how it may be so spent, as to secure the great object for which it was given, and to preclude those painful regrets which the hour of reflection will bring with it, to the gay and guilty bosom, when that hour shall come ; and especially in the near prospect of the future world.

Now, we think, that, next to imbuing the mind, directly and deeply, with the great truths of the inspired record ; and next to resorting often in simple, fervent supplication, to the Source of all spiritual illumination and guidance, the recorded examples of great and good men, in the form of religious biographies, are most happily adapted to prompt to such a course of life, as shall stand connected with the very best hopes of mankind. By showing us the course of life which others have adopted, who have been regarded as eminently wise, and good men ; by admitting us to the secrecy, as it were, of their habitual thoughts and feelings ; by presenting to our view the hidden springs of that which was so amiable and so excellent in *their* character ; such examples of wisdom and virtue, teach us how *we* must live and act and feel, if we would cherish a hope similar to that which animated their hearts and shone in their lives ;—a living assurance that when the few years, of our abode on earth, shall have passed away, we shall die indeed to this world, but only to be admitted, through divine grace, to the purer and higher glories of immortality.

With reflections like these, we have been looking over the lives of Cotton Mather and Matthew Henry. We have laid them aside with the full conviction, that there are few means so well adapted to promote holy living, to incite to active and enlarged usefulness, to lead to effort and self-denial for the good of mankind, and above all to draw the whole heart into an humble, intimate, daily intercourse with the Father of Mercies, in the duties of a cheerful and happy piety, as the memoirs of such men as Mather and Henry. They were men of no ordinary stamp. Their character, as religious men, was worthy of the peculiar times and circumstances in which they were called to act. Few among the many tried and faithful men of that age, have borne the sacred office better, or have left behind them stronger testimonials of their fidelity to their trust, than these men. We love to look at such examples. They shew us what *can* be done by *men*, with the blessing of

God upon their efforts—what can be done by men, whom the world hates and often affects to pity or despise. They lead us to magnify the grace of God in them.

COTTON MATHER was the son of the Rev. Increase Mather, who for many years was pastor of the North Church in Boston, and president of Harvard College. His son, the subject of the memoir before us, was educated at that institution, and received his first degree in 1678, at the age of sixteen. He succeeded his father in the pastoral relation to the North Church in Boston, being ordained to the spiritual oversight and care of that church, May 13th, 1684. In that transaction "Mr. Allen, Mr. Willard and his father imposed hands, with the good apostolical Eliot, who gave him the right hand of fellowship." "A truly *primitive* ordination," it is added, "which he never once in his life scrupled the *validity* of." He died in Boston, at the age of 65, in the full assurance of hope in the divine mercy, through the atonement and mediation of the divine Savior. Of his interment it is said: "His church to testify their *superior* regard for their dear pastor, went *before* the corpse; while the Hon. William Dummer, our lieutenant governor and commander in chief; the honorable the council and representatives of this province, with a vast number of ministers, justices of the peace, merchants, &c. followed the mourners."

MATTHEW HENRY, the other name placed at the head of this article, it is well known to many of our readers, was an eminent and a singularly useful dissenting minister in England. He was contemporary with Cotton Mather; he was the son of the Rev. Philip Henry, whose praise is still in the English non-conformist churches; and he was one of that excellent class of divines who were opprobriously styled *puritan*, and many of whom were violently persecuted for their non-conformity to the English established church. He is best known, in this country, as the author of a deservedly popular commentary on the sacred scriptures. And it is not a little to his credit, as an expositor of the bible at least, that at this distance of time from the original publication of his Commentary, and in this age of *new* things, and especially of new *books*, an American edition of that great work should be called for, (more than one hundred years from the time when it was written,*) for the use of the American churches. This fact is the more worthy of notice, when it is recollected, that re-

* Dr. Watts, in his copy of the Exposition, upon a blank leaf at the beginning of the last volume, wrote the following statement:—

"The Rev. Mr. Matthew Henry, before his death had made some small preparations for this last volume. The Epistle to the Romans indeed, was explained so largely by his own hand, that it needed only the labor of epitomizing. Some parts of the other Epistles were done, but very imperfectly, by

peated and large editions of Scott's Commentary, and two editions at least of Adam Clarke's Commentary, have within a few years, been issued from the American press, and spread over the country.

Mr. Henry received ordination as a minister of the gospel, in May, 1687, at the hands of some dissenting ministers in London. And, as connected with that transaction, and going to show the spirit of those days of darkness and trial to some of the best and most useful men that ever lived, it is a circumstance worthy of being distinctly recorded, that through fear of provoking the jealousy and vengeance of the established hierarchy, it was thought to be safest and most prudent, that the ordination of Mr. Henry should be performed *in secret*. It was accordingly made a private transaction. And instead of the customary testimonial, given on such occasions, the following curious document is all the voucher, in relation to that solemn transaction, which prudence and a knowledge of the spirit of the times, on the part of the ordaining council, allowed them to give. "We whose names are subscribed are well assured that Mr. Matthew Henry is an ordained minister of the gospel." They were *afraid* to certify that *they* ordained him, lest consequences should result from it, similar to those which had already befallen Philip Henry, Richard Baxter, and many others, ejected by the act of Uniformity,—an act of the British Parliament, under which the whole land lay bleeding from one extremity to the other. To this singular document the ordaining council set their names. "Sic Testor, W. Wickens, Fran.

himself; and a few other hints had been taken in short-hand from his public and private Expositions on some of the Epistles.

By these assistances the ministers whose names are here written, have endeavored to complete this work in the style and method of the author: viz.

Romans	-	-	-	Mr. [afterwards Dr.] John Evans.
1 Corinthians	-	-	-	Mr. Simon Brown.
2 Corinthians	-	-	-	Mr. Daniel Mayo.
Galatians	-	-	-	Mr. Joshua Bayes.
Ephesians	-	-	-	Mr. Samuel Roswell.
Philippians	-	-	-	} Mr. [afterwards Dr.] Wm. Harris.
Colossians	-	-	-	
1 Thessalonians	-	-	-	} Mr. Daniel Mayo.
2 Thessalonians	-	-	-	
1 Timothy	-	-	-	} Mr. Benjamin Andrews Atkinson.
2 Timothy	-	-	-	
Titus	-	-	-	} Mr. Jeremiah Smith.
Philemon	-	-	-	
Hebrews	-	-	-	Mr. William Tong.
James	-	-	-	Mr. William Wright.
1 Peter	-	-	-	Mr. Zech. Merrill.
2 Peter	-	-	-	Mr. Joseph Hill.
1, 2, and 3 John	-	-	-	Mr. John Reynolds, of Shrewsbury.
Jude	-	-	-	Mr. John Billingsley.
Revelations	-	-	-	Mr. William Tong."

Tallents, Edw. Lawrence, Nathaniel Vincent, James Owen, Rich. Steele. May 9, 1687."

Mr. Henry was settled in the ministry, first at Chester; and afterwards was removed to Hackney near London, where he lived greatly esteemed and beloved, till his decease in 1714, at the age of 52 years.

In reading the history of both of these men, a brief sketch of which we have now given, one circumstance strikes the mind strongly; it is, their *energy*—their *devotedness*—their *usefulness*. The amount of labor and service, which they performed for the church of Christ and mankind at large—for present and for distant generations, seems almost incredible. It was, at least, so great, that he who reads their lives attentively, will find his thoughts drawn to no one topic of reflection more forcibly, than to that which relates to the *cause* or *causes* of their great efficiency and usefulness in the service of God and of mankind. He will feel, as he reads, that there was,—that there *must* have been,—some powerful spring to such unwearied, effective, abounding labors. In evidence that their labors were abundant, effective, and untiring, it will be sufficient to observe, that Cotton Mather, during his ministry of forty-two years, in the largest town in New-England, found time to write and publish three hundred and eighty-three books, according to a printed catalogue of his works appended to his Life. No year of his ministry, even from the very first after his ordination, was suffered to pass away, without his producing something for the press during that year; and this too, in addition to all his other multiplied duties and avocations. The list of his printed works, for the *last* year only of his life, comprises thirteen, besides two more which he had prepared for the press, and which were published after his death.

Matthew Henry, although his labors on earth were terminated by death, at the age of fifty-two years, had nearly completed his great work, the Exposition of the Old and New Testaments; had preached "in season and out of season," often (says his biographer) seven times in the week; had written and caused to be printed about forty books of different kinds; and had had the care, to no inconsiderable extent, and especially during the latter years of his life, of all the churches in his own religious connection, within the compass of thirty miles around London. The last edition of his works, published in 1811, by the Rev. George Burder and Joseph Hughes, A. M. is in seven volumes quarto. From this "corrected" edition of his works, it may not be amiss here to state, the Exposition, published not long since in England, is a reprint; and from this, the edition of that valuable work just now republished in this country, is understood to be taken.

Now it is an inquiry of deep interest, whence did these men derive their extraordinary efficiency and usefulness? Something is doubtless to be ascribed to superior mental endowments. But, all proper allowance being made for the vigor of their minds, the grand secret of their efficiency and usefulness consisted, we apprehend, in their spirit of piety—in their singular devotedness to their work. They lived for God. They lived for eternity. And hence, if we may be allowed the expression, they lived long in a short time, and accomplished much, where others, not governed by their peculiar spirit, would have accomplished but little; because they lived under the influence of motives to activity and energy of conduct, of most constraining efficacy. Two extracts, one from each of the *Lives* before us, will afford some illustration of the truth and pertinence of this remark. The first extract is from the *Life of Mather* :—

He found that he could, every morning, redeem the time while he was dressing himself, by taking his grand question into consideration, *WHAT GOOD MAY I DO?* Accordingly the week was divided by him, into as many subjects of consideration, as there are days in the week. His subject for the sabbath morning was, *What good may I do as pastor of a church, and for the benefit of the people under my charge?* His subject for Monday morning was, *What shall I do in my family and for the good of it?* For Tuesday morning, *What shall I do for my relatives abroad, or, for my personal enemies, when he knew that he had any?* For Wednesday morning, *What shall I do for the churches of the Lord, and for the more general interests of religion in the world?* For Thursday morning, *What good may I do in the several societies, charitable, moral, or other institutions, to which I am related?* For Friday morning, *What special subjects of affliction, and objects of compassion, can I take under my particular care, and what can I do for them?* His question for Saturday morning was, *What more have I to do for the interest of God in my own heart and life?*

Thus for every day in the week, there was a particular class of duties marked out; and the foregoing questions furnished him with a sort of index, or directory, to the specific class of duties for each successive day.

The other extract is from the *life of Mr. Henry*. His biographer says :

Like his Divine Master, he often rose a great while before day. He was commonly in his study at *five* and sometimes at *four* o'clock. There he remained till seven or eight. After family worship, and some slight refreshment, he returned till noon, and oftentimes again after dinner till four in the afternoon. He then visited the sick, or his friends, and attended to other business. In the evening, after his family were dismissed, and before he yielded himself to sleep, he again retired to his study. Nothing, continues his biographer, created him more uneasiness than needless intrusions. Whether these inroads upon his time arose out of mistaken politeness, or the influence of inconsiderate friendship, they invariably extorted from him lamentations and self-reproach, both pungent and reiterated. In his

diary he often complains of the precious hours *lost* in the company of those he loved. He often laments that friends were the thieves of time. And, when noticing even gratifying intercourse, with some of his brethren, and with others whom he highly esteemed, he says on one occasion, I would not for any thing live such a life for a few days together—when I lose time at home, I wish I was abroad preaching. When time abroad is not filled up as it should be, I wish myself at home studying. God by his grace help me to *fill up* time—to be busy while working time lasts.

In this spirit of carefully improving time, and of accomplishing what could be accomplished during man's short stay on earth, Cotton Mather had placed over the door of his study this brief caution to all who were admitted to see him there, *Be short*. Yet few men have understood, or appreciated, or exemplified, better than these men, the law of christian kindness and courtesy, or been better fitted to enjoy the society and conversation of their friends.

We now wish, with the foregoing examples before us,—and we have brought these examples forward and placed them on our pages principally for that purpose,—to draw the attention of our readers to some thoughts, *on the influence of a spirit of evangelical piety upon the intellectual energies of the mind*; and consequently upon the amount of effective, well directed, and well sustained effort which may thus be secured to the cause of human happiness, as compared with that which is the result of other causes.

1. Christianity presents to the mind *objects of unrivaled grandeur and sublimity*; objects, therefore, which as seen, under the influence of a renewed, admiring, adoring heart, are fitted to awaken the mind to its utmost activity, and to enlarge and dilate its powers to their utmost grasp. These objects are, a God—a Savior—a law, whose requisitions reach to the inmost soul. Sin against a God of infinite majesty and power—expiation for sin—pardon, peace, and reconciliation—death, judgment—heaven, hell—the songs and glories of the redeemed; the worm that dies not and the wailings that will not cease. These surely are things, which, as contemplated by a pious spirit, are fitted to excite, to interest, to call into exercise all the faculties of the soul, and to give to them too the very best direction possible. Let these things be but duly realized, and where is the class of objects possessing any thing like the same adaptation to awaken and expand and fill the whole soul? There are objects in nature, which, apart from all the elevating influences of christianity, have much of the grand and the sublime in them, and which cannot be contemplated by a cultivated and refined mind, without strong emotions. Who can go out at evening, and direct his eye to the starry firmament, and survey intelligently that scene of glory, without experiencing its power

over him ; its power to excite ; its power to interest ; its power to expand and elevate the mind ; and to make it feel the littleness of the objects of its ordinary contemplations. But, only add the influences of piety—only let this scene of glory be associated in the mind with the idea, the *loved* idea, of its Great Author—let all these glories of the firmament, be viewed as the work of *His* almighty hand, and be made the occasion of carrying the thoughts up to Him, “who spake and it was done, who commanded and it stood fast”—and how different a result takes place in the mind? how greatly is the power of this spectacle over the mind augmented? Then it is, that the beautiful poetic fiction of Pagan astronomy, and in a far higher and better sense than paganism ever intended, seems to be realized. Then it is, that the scene before us seems almost to be endued with a principle of life and intelligence, and we can listen to the ‘music of the spheres,’ almost without any mental illusion, and hear them,

“Forever singing as they shine,
The Hand that made us is divine.”

Yes—it is the Hand that made them which they most readily suggest to the christian spirit : and it is the Hand that made them, which, as thus suggested to the christian spirit, gives them their peculiar power over the soul.

Now whatever tends to excite, and expand, and elevate the mind, tends also to increase its activity and vigor, and to give to it greater practical power and efficiency ; so that, if its energies are rightly directed, it will accomplish more, and as the case may be, far more, than it otherwise would, in the cause of human happiness, in the salvation of a lost world. This is one way, we can conceive, in which the influence of evangelical piety upon the intellectual energies of the human mind, is apparent, and is truly happy.

2. The objects which christianity presents to the minds and hearts of her disciples, are, above all others, *important* objects. They are things which do not merely address themselves to the taste and imaginations of men. They are not only great and sublime, beyond all other things of which we have any knowledge ; but they are also invested with a supreme and paramount *importance*, beyond all things else. And, as such, they address themselves to the sober reason, and judgment, and interest, of mankind. They make their appeal to the understanding, and the conscience, and the heart, as no other objects do. And the more they are contemplated, in faith and love, the more obvious their importance becomes, and the greater and the more commanding, continually. Their influence upon the mind, we repeat, is not merely the influence of objects, which address the

taste and the imagination. It is not merely the effect of the grand, the majestic, the sublime, and the beautiful. It comes nearer home; it is more comprehensive; it touches all the susceptibilities of the human bosom. It is the effect which the jeopardy of the dying, perishing sinner produces; it is the influence which comes from hopes of forgiveness and of heaven, as experienced in the dying, perishing sinner's heart.

There is indeed a charm, and we may add, a peculiar charm, to the christian, in many of the scenes and objects of nature. Their power *he* can feel, even more intensely than other men. They elevate his conceptions, they interest his feelings, as they ordinarily do not, in an equal degree, those of other men. To him, certainly not *less* than to others, the voice of the ocean, when its proud waves are lifted up and come rolling from afar, is full of majesty. To him, the cataract, descending in its strength, with its deafening and eternal roar, is certainly not less an object of interest, because he can connect with it associations of religion. To him the thunder, lifting up its voice on high; and the lightning blazing across the dark bosom of the storm; and the bow of promise, like hope on the brow of sorrow, bending its broad bright arch from the earth up into the heavens, and looking forth from the retiring clouds, pleasantly through but transiently upon the face of the returning orb of day—these, and a thousand other things in nature, are to him, objects of no less interest at least, than to other men. They are even objects of far greater interest; they all refer him, as they do not necessarily refer other men, to the Infinite Intelligence, the Infinite Power, the Infinite Majesty, from which they were derived, and of which they are but feeble manifestations. They lead him up to nature's God, where the infidel and the worldling will not accompany him.

But, in addition to the interest thus created, there is a still higher interest felt by the good man, in view of the great subjects of the christian faith, on account of their unrivaled importance. That such is their importance we need not stop to prove. Standing connected as these subjects do, with the eternal peace and welfare of mankind, their importance must be all that it appears to be to any mind; however deeply that mind may have been imbued with christian knowledge and the spirit of the gospel, and however wide its comprehension of things. Now, viewing these subjects in the simple light of their own intrinsic importance, what an impression, deep, strong, and salutary, are they calculated to make, upon the mind of one who truly believes them, with the faith "which is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen!" It is idle to say, that there are any other known objects, which *can* come home to the breast of man with such a commanding power, which *can* so deeply, and strongly, and perma-

nently engage and interest the intellect, the conscience, the heart, all the faculties of our nature, as the great topics of the christian faith can ; and in the case supposed, will and do, as well as can.

3. Christianity is, in a sense, and to an extent, which can be predicated of few other subjects, a *personal* concern. The things which belong to it, are pre-eminently things in which men have a personal interest, an individual and a mighty stake. These things are not barely important in themselves, and in their relation to some beings in the universe, or to some portion of our race. They are important to us. They are important to all men. They stand related to interests and concerns, in which we have severally and separately, a tremendous stake. This the good man sees ; and this he, in some degree, feels. He sees, that the mere interests of this life are fleeting away. He feels, that he has no concerns here, which, in their limited relations to this world, will not soon be closed. But, he also sees and feels, that he *has* interests and concerns, which will outlast all his connections with this present scene of things, and which are too important, too personally important to himself, to be neglected. The question, perhaps, whether he is to be saved or lost, is yet to be settled, upon evidence more sure and satisfactory. Now, in such a condition as this, or in any condition in which the objects of religion are so presented to the mind, as to create the feeling, that we, as well as others, have in them a personal, an everlasting concern ; what is there which is so well adapted as these subjects are, to lead men to put forth all their energies, to use their utmost diligence, to employ their highest efforts, towards establishing the certainty of their safety here, in the acceptance and favor of their Maker, and their peace and welfare beyond this life ?

And, if men were governed by the *spirit* of the gospel, what is there in the wide compass of things, which is adapted, like the truths of the bible, and the condition of mankind made known by the bible, to make them to put forth all their energies, in the cause of human happiness ? Much has been said of the philanthropy of Howard, in exploring prisons and lazarettos, for the purpose of taking, in the darkest abodes of pestilence and suffering and crime, the "guage and dimensions of human misery." We have heard much too of the generous and untiring efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce, in another department of benevolent exertion. And these were efforts worthy to be recorded in monuments more durable than brass. The gratitude of many hearts has gone up to heaven for them. But what was it, that originated and sustained these efforts ? What but the spirit of christianity, operating in one of its loveliest and most impressive forms,—redressing the wrongs of the oppressed and healing the woes of the suffering, in obedience to the will, and after the example of him, in whom reside

supreme justice and supreme mercy ! And who has not heard of the patience, and the hardihood, and the zeal, and the delightful effects too, of Moravian benevolence and piety ? The United Brethren have deserved, and they have received, the united plaudits of the christian world. Few in numbers, and feeble in every earthly resource, what have they not dared to attempt ;—what have they not accomplished, which means so few and feeble could accomplish ;—in doing good to those portions of mankind, towards whom the conception had before been scarcely formed, that much good could be done. They have gone and sat down in the heart of the deep and boundless forest, to tame the Indian hunter to the meekness and gentleness of Christ. They have moored their little bark amid the polar ice, on the most inhospitable shores ; and have gone forth to encounter the rigors of an almost perpetual winter ; to dwell, far away from their former homes, amidst eternal frosts and snows—their object, to soften and subdue the rude inhabitants of those frozen regions, with the kindly influences of the gospel. And truly they have done much ; much, which *but* for them, would not have been done at all. The desert and the solitary place have been glad for them. But what led to these efforts ?—what gave this beautiful combination of simplicity and energy of character ?—where is the mighty cause which has produced these happy results ? Nothing, we think, but the spirit of christian piety, giving as it does unwonted energy to the mind, by bringing the heart under the influence of higher and stronger motives, will account satisfactorily for phenomena like these. Christianity, as a vital principle of action, *will* account for the facts to which we have referred. The love of Christ constraining, *will* lead to just such exhibitions of character, and to just such results. Faith in the verities of the bible *will* produce these very effects, and there is no mystery in the fact, that it should do so. Those verities—great, solemn, searching, beyond any others which can be presented to the mind—those verities, when seen and realized as such, through the medium of a heart which *loves* them, must in its natural operation, be the means of producing results, just such in kind, as have been specified in the foregoing illustrations. But where else—where except in the vital spirit of christianity,—will you find a principle of such power ? From what other source will you bring forward such motives, to bear upon the mind, as those which christianity offers ; as those whose actually constraining efficacy, has a thousand times been seen to be identical with the spirit of christian faith and christian love, and with that spirit only ?

4. Christianity imparts *a value to time*, which it had never been seen to possess before ; and which, except as viewed under the influence of the christian spirit, and in its relation to the christian

doctrines, it does not in fact possess. It is obvious, that the value of any period of our existence, will depend upon the importance of those objects, to the attainment of which, that period shall be, or may be applied. Now to the good man, living under the proper influence of christian principles, the objects presented to his mind are, as we have already seen, unspeakably great, sublime, important, and personally interesting. They are so beyond all other objects, as the heavens are high above the earth. The favor of God, the forgiveness of sin, the "being renewed into the image of Christ," and prepared for eternal blessedness hereafter—these are things, the very hope of obtaining which, it is plain, must throw over the brief space allotted to men on earth, an aspect of importance, such as this life in any other view of it, never can appear to possess. He who practically regards his existence as closed at the grave; who has no definite hopes nor fears beyond that period; cannot, in the nature of things, attach a very high importance to the passing hours that are now wafting him on—not to a speedy removal to another world, but to a speedy and everlasting forgetfulness of all the past, in a state of non-existence. And he too, who though believing in a future existence beyond the grave, believes also, that that existence will be at all events a happy one to him; and he, finally, who though believing in the scripture doctrine of future rewards and punishments, entertains nevertheless, no practical sense of the application of that doctrine to his own case;—*all* these, must be devoid of just views of the value of time. They will not appreciate nor improve it as they ought. They will spend their days to little valuable purpose. They will trifle away the precious hours of heaven's lingering mercy towards them. They can never regard their season of probation, as they would regard it, if they felt that they were living, while on earth, for God and for immortality;—that they had much therefore to do, and but a little while in which to do it. Oh what a reflection is it, trite though it may be, that upon the brief and uncertain continuance of this life, are suspended issues of such dread moment! And that the sequel to our existence here, is to be decided, as to the immeasurable good or evil which it shall involve, by the manner in which we spend these few but golden hours of the morning of our being! Nothing gives to them such an importance, or so impels to the due improvement of time, as those views which faith in the disclosures of the gospel presupposes: and nothing, therefore, tends so strongly, to prompt mankind to act with wisdom, and energy, and effect, while the lamp of life continues to burn. Who, are we to expect, will feel that he has no time to lose? Will it be he, who neither sees nor feels, that there is any thing to be done, for himself or others, beyond the ordinary concerns of this world? Will it not be he, who

lifts his soul daily to God, for strength to enable him to run with patience the race set before him, and to finish it with joy; under the apprehension, that what his hand findeth to do, he is to do with his might, because there is no work in the grave to which he is going? No one can be at a loss for the answer.

5. The true spirit of piety *breaks our naturally strong and death-like hold on the things of this world*; and thus leaves the mind to act with greater freedom and vigor towards other and better objects.

There are many things in this world which are reasonably, perhaps necessarily, the objects of our attachment. We love them;—we covet them;—we pursue after them;—we exult in their enjoyment, when we gain possession of them;—and we are disappointed and grieved, when we fail in the pursuit of them. But there is great danger, that the attachment to these objects may be inordinate; without religion, it always is so;—the governing affection the ruling choice of the mind. Such are *all* our attachments, which are not regulated and controlled by a superior regard to God and his will and glory. Now it is easy to see how, without the spirit of true piety, the energies of the mind, if they are not supposed to lie wholly dormant, may be unprofitably expended upon trivial or worthless objects. The mighty energies of Paul's mind might have lain comparatively useless, or been applied to purposes of very inferior value, had not christianity called them forth, and given them the right direction. The other apostles too, might have lived and died on the shores of the sea of Galilee, with no higher aims through life, and no greater measure of usefulness, than their respective occupations of fishermen, and tent-makers, and publicans, could furnish. It is interesting also to reflect, what *might* have been done, under the excitation and guidance of christian principle, by some who, from their being governed by mere worldly, selfish, ambitious views, have been in fact, the pests and the scourges of mankind. They might have been,—and under the influence of christian principles, breaking their attachment to some separate private earthly good, and directing their minds to high and noble objects, they would have been,—eminently and widely useful; the benefactors of their species; the promoters of peace, virtue, and happiness, through a wide sphere; the blessers and the blessed of mankind. In the annals of modern *warfare*, for example, how many names now enrolled high on the bloody scroll of military distinction and glory, would have shone with a far different and a far purer lustre; and been embalmed far more sweetly and more imperishably too, in the grateful remembrances of mankind, if instead of being governed by a mere earthly ambition, they had consecrated their ardent minds to the service of God, and the happiness of their fellow men.

The late military chief, who died on a rock in the ocean, because the peace and quiet of the world were thought to require that he should no longer go at large, and because there was no safe custody for such a spirit as his, but when walled in by the wild waves of the sea,—who had shaken thrones to the dust, and swept away the liberties and the landmarks of nations,—whose portentous march, from victory to victory, over prostrate and bleeding and suppliant kingdoms, had for a season made the world turn pale and tremble, at the terror of his name,—had *he* felt the spirit, and been guided and governed by the motives, of the gospel of Christ; had the mighty energies of *his* mind been called forth, and directed, by the great, the all-absorbing objects of pursuit which christianity offers to mankind, how different would have been his history, in its progress and in its termination! Instead of the lurid light which he shed upon the world, what a track of glory might he have left behind him—what a different amount of good to mankind might he have accomplished! Or to vary the illustration: the late Lord Byron, we need not say, with the means of gratifying almost every wish of his heart, except the wish to be happy in the course of life which he was pursuing, and with a mind which, under proper control, would have qualified him to be useful to the world in no ordinary degree, lived and died a wretched being. Would that this were all that could be said of him!—his influence on the interests of virtue, and the best hopes of men here and hereafter, has been withering and deadly. And yet he cannot be read without being admired. His poetry, to minds constituted like his own, is enchantment. All he writes has a sort of *tragic* interest in it, from the power of passion—deep, burning passion, under the influence of which he appears always to have thought, and always to have acted. The *moral* character of his sentiments is forgotten, amidst the engrossing interest of another kind, which his impassioned strains create. Men love to *feel*, whatever be the moral character of the cause that excites them. Now, had the mind of Byron been sanctified and turned to God, to how much higher, worthier, and more valuable results, in every point of view, would the powers of his glowing intellect have been directed. With the objects before him which the faith of Christ presents, and with a heart to appreciate and love these objects, to how much higher aims, to how much better feelings, would he have been prompted, as he “mused o’er the bright and tranquil isles of Greece,” or gazed on the “boundless Hellespont” of Homer. The same may be said of many others. Break the attachments of any man, to the poor and perishable things of time and sense; and let the energies of his mind, which had been cramped and confined by mere earthly things, be enlisted in the great cause of bringing a revolted world

back to God; and to how much greater, as well as better effect, would he act? How greatly would his mind be expanded, his thoughts elevated, and his whole intellectual character changed? Before we know what men *can* accomplish, for each other, and for him who made them, we must see them thoroughly weaned from all their wrong or inordinate attachments to this world, and pursuing the great ends for which they were created, undiverted from their object, and unembarrassed in the pursuit of it, by remaining sinful, earthly predilections. We must see them *wholly* devoted to God, having *all* the affections of their hearts brought under the one, great, controlling, never ceasing inclination to live and labor for Him!

6. It is scarcely necessary to add, the spirit of evangelical piety *delights much in prayer.*

A supreme regard for God, on the part of dependant, frail, sinful beings, such as mankind are, and such as good men *feel* themselves to be, will of course prompt to frequent and fervent exercises of devotion. The circumstances too, in which man is placed in this world, render the exercises of devotion pre-eminently important to him; and beget the feeling in the heart of the good man that these exercises *are* pre-eminently important to him. At the throne of grace, therefore, he will often be found. His sense of duty—his sense of need—his filial spirit—will all contribute to draw him thither. And there peculiarly,—in that affecting employment,—the things of God and of eternity, will arise to the view of the mind, with a force and clearness, corresponding in some measure, to their real, intrinsic weight and importance. There peculiarly, the soul that pleads in faith, *must* feel strengthened, and encouraged, and prepared to make more vigorous efforts for the good of mankind. For there, though weak as water in itself, it takes hold on almighty strength. There, as no where else, it finds all its better purposes confirmed, and its courage to confront difficulties augmented: and it retires thence, halting it may be, as respects its sense of its own sufficiency, but still having power like a prince to prevail with God and with man.

Now the full effect which this has, upon the right direction, and the faithful exertion, of the powers of the mind, in doing good in the world, we cannot indeed accurately estimate; but we can see, that that effect must be great and happy. Is suffering to be borne? Is active duty to be done? Is a trial of our faith and christian constancy and courage to be met? Is self-denial or danger in any form to be encountered? Who does not perceive, that the good man, who loves to draw near to God, possesses a resource of inconceivable value, in going to a throne of grace for needed succor? What resource like this has the man of the world, to prepare *him* to meet the calamities of this life, and to confront the king of ter-

rors? His friends may cheer him on through difficulties, with the hope of acquiring some notice and distinction by surmounting them. His own philosophy or pride may suggest to him, that it is unmanly to yield to trials and glorious to conquer them. Hopes of better days to come, may help him to bear for the present what he sees that he cannot avoid, and may thus prolong the delusion a little farther. And when he can do nothing else, he can affect indifference and unconcern, even in view of the most solemn subjects; and can so steel his heart against feeling, by the doctrines of a cold, benumbing scepticism, that he can talk of death, and of the things that lie beyond it, as if they were as unimportant, or as fabulous, as the mythological fiction with which David Hume entertained his friends, in the last hours of his life. The *dignity* of that scene, to speak of it in no other view, will not be very likely, we believe, to attract much imitation. How unlike to all this, is the spirit of the christian, living and dying. In life and amidst all its trials, he has a source of support and consolation, which this world can neither give nor take away. And in the near view of death, faith opens to his vision, a brighter world beyond. He thinks of Him who "has abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light." He calls the promises to mind: he goes to the hearer of prayer who gave these promises to his people: he stays himself upon the arm that upholds the world. And has he not a ground of reliance, in life and in death, which is to be found no where else? and which too is of very great value to him, to prepare him to bear up under the unavoidable ills of life, to lead him to do and suffer the will of God, with a firmness and an energy of spirit belonging only to the praying, confiding, devoted disciple of Jesus Christ? On a principle of so much *practical* importance, then as that which we have now attempted to illustrate, our readers, we trust, will bear with us in submitting a few concluding reflections.

1. We are instructed by it how men are to live in order to their being eminently *useful*.

Does any one wish to learn, how he may apply, to the best possible effect, the talents which his Creator has committed to him, during his transient and uncertain stay on earth? Let him embrace intelligently and cordially, the christian religion. Let him, not only bear the name, but feel the appropriate motives, of "the faith once delivered to the saints." Let him cultivate within him an enlightened and an entire devotedness of spirit to Christ. Let him often commune with the word of God; and imbue his mind deeply with truth from the fountain head. Let him have the hardihood, the unblenching firmness of character, to go to the oracle of eternal truth, and to take his lessons thence, with the docility, the simplicity, the childlike confidence, which will go any where, where truth

shall lead ; and with the independence, and decision of purpose, which will follow no guidance but the guidance of truth. Let him, in short, be often at the throne of grace, where it most becomes a creature of yesterday to lie ! The culture and improvement of his mind, let him by no means neglect ; rather let him seek to add, continually, to his intellectual acquisitions. But in doing so, let him not forget, that he is to attend with a primary solicitude to the culture of his heart ; that he is to bestow his chief efforts upon the training of his affections. Let him feel, that all is amiss within him, until his Maker is enthroned there, and the will of his Maker has become the settled law of his life. When this is done ; when the heart is actively and voluntarily given to God ; and the great end and object of existence is felt to be, to do his will and glorify his name ; then is there the best preparation made for being useful—truly and eminently useful. Then it is that the noblest motives begin to urge ; the grandest objects are present to the mind ; and the richest hopes and joys gladden the heart. All is great. All is interesting. Time assumes a value unknown before—moments are precious—men are immortals—and to be saved or lost is the grand problem, which the passing hours that precede eternity, are to solve and settle for every man !

2. It shows how men should live, if they would pass their days on earth with the truest *dignity*.

There is no man who lives for so *great* as well as good an end, as he who leads a truly christian life. There is no dignity to be compared with that, which consists in being actuated by christian principle. It is truly great to serve God : it is an exalted employment. There is more than the simple *worth* of dignity in it ; there is also the *greatness*, the magnanimity, which that term implies. In both respects, there is a resemblance in it to angelic natures. He is most like those spirits of light and love, whose intellect and whose heart are most entirely consecrated to God. The more fervently he adores, under the guidance of the word and the spirit of the Lord, the more does he resemble the rapt seraphim near the throne. Is it not so ? What is it that constitutes the angelic character ? Is it not superior intelligence and superior love ? And towards this character does not *he* most nearly approach, who lives and labors most for God, and for the good of mankind ? Go to the dwelling of the humble, devoted christian. Poor, he is perhaps, in all the wealth of this world ; but, being rich in faith, and rich in those good works which are by Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of God, he possesses a treasure in the heavens, bags which wax not old. His are the favor and friendship of the Most High. His the character of a child of the skies. His the end, which is peace, and

the immortality, which is blessed. He pursues his unostentatious but useful course through life ; and when he dies, ministering angels convey him to his rest. In life and in death, is not his course marked with the truest *dignity*?

3. It shows us how to live, if we would be *peaceful and happy*.

To be actively and voluntarily useful, in the manner and after the spirit of the gospel, is the way to true peace and happiness : to *great and lasting* peace, it is the only way. Sooner or later, all other modes of seeking to bring home to the heart of man a pure and a permanent peace, will be found illusory and vain. But here, in a life of active, voluntary usefulness, from evangelical principles, is a source of peace and comfort to the soul, which will not mislead, and which will never fail. Only let the heart, and all the faculties of the soul, be devoted to those great ends, for which an intelligent nature has fitted mankind, and for which our Creator has shown, in giving to us an intelligent nature, that he designed to fit us ; and what a flow of conscious peace within, might we not hope and expect, would cheer our path through this life, and prepare us to close our days on earth, in the serene hopes of a heart which confides in unfailing promises for the future.

4. In the culture of the mind, then it is of very high importance, that the temper of the *heart* be not neglected.

Intellectual exertion, to be most wisely and usefully directed, must be the result, as we have already seen, of christian motives, and christian feelings. The *heart* must be touched, and touched by the right power ; or there will be little done, or attempted to be done, to make the world better or happier. Could we, therefore, be heard by those who are panting for distinction in the field of mere mental effort : could we gain for a few moments, the ear of the young and the ardent, who are laudably endeavoring to improve their minds and acquire knowledge ; we would say to them, " Have the strictest regard to your motives, and to the state of your feelings. Watch over the affections of your minds, with a supreme, an ever wakeful vigilance : for there the grand secret of your success lies. How many great minds have languished, and brought little to pass, in consequence of their not having early received the needful excitement and the proper direction. An object was wanting, of sufficient magnitude and of the right kind, to call forth their slumbering energies, and to direct them to important results. Such an object christianity offers you. It is a great, a noble object, fitted to awaken all your powers, and to keep them in untiring exercise. It is to do good to all men as you have opportunity, and on the grand scale of eternity. It is to make this life subservient to the great end, of being as useful as you can be, and as long as you shall continue to exist. Cultivate then a spirit of fervent piety. Be not afraid

nor ashamed of religion, just as the Savior and his apostles left it to the world, in all its unadorned simplicity and plainness. Give up your minds and hearts to its control. Let it not merely *divide* with earthly things the dominion over you—let it govern you decisively and wholly. *Feel* its blessed truths. Bring home to the inner man of the heart, its great and solemn announcements. Its duties, its obligations, its sanctions, let them do more than gain a cold credence from you; let them be living, operative realities before your eyes: and you *will* live to some good purpose. You *will* cultivate and improve your powers to some valuable end. And although your course on earth may be comparatively silent and unobserved, it will be more useful and more honorable; it will yield you a purer satisfaction in the review of it; it will impart to the closing scene of life a calmer radiance of hope, a sweeter aspect of serenity and peace, than aught else can give. And when the last tie is sundered which constitutes your connection with things seen and temporal, you will go to join the Mathers and the Henrys of a former age, whose faith and elevation of purpose you have emulated, “considering the *end* of their conversation, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.”

Art. VII.—REVIEW ON MISSIONS TO CHINA.

Seavitt

A Retrospect of the first ten years of the Protestant Mission to China: By WILLIAM MILNE. Malacca: printed at the Anglo-Chinese press. 1820.

Memoirs of the Rev. William Milne, D. D. late Missionary to China, and Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College: compiled from Documents written by the Deceased: to which are added Occasional Remarks. By ROBERT MORRISON, D. D. Malacca: printed at the Mission Press. 1824.

The Chinese Classical work, commonly called the FOUR BOOKS; translated and illustrated with Notes: By the late Rev. DAVID COLLIE, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca. Printed at the Mission press. 1823.

WE have intended, for some months past, to lay before our readers an account of the attempts which have been made, to carry christianity into the vast empire of China. Events which have recently transpired, and which are known to all, now induce us to carry our design into execution. The interesting fact, that the American churches have at length taken a part in this enterprise, ought to make the brief view which we now propose to give, acceptable to those for whom it is prepared.

The empire of China extends about eighteen degrees from north to south, and the same number from east to west. It has

long been customary to retail the most extravagant statements, respecting the antiquity, the science, the good order, the populousness, and the freedom from change, of this vast nation. But as modern intelligence becomes more conversant with the real state of things, these ancient legends have come to be considered as more than doubtful. The vaunted historical writings of the Chinese, are now considered as affording some evidence of a national existence, commencing from two to five hundred years before the birth of Christ. Anterior to the days of Confucius, the people were confessedly divided into petty clans or nations, and had made but very small advances in civilization. The opinion now adopted by the learned as the most probable, is that this philosopher lived about five hundred years before our Savior; and that he had many just ideas of morals and government, by the help of which he assisted in reducing several of the petty kingdoms which then existed, to a good degree of order. In doing this he appears to have encountered much obloquy and some personal danger, but at length to have gained a considerable number of followers; who after his death reduced many of his instructions to writing.

The following views of his character and the effect of his labors, are given by Mr. Collie, in his introduction to the "Four Books," and appear to be both candid and just.

That he was a man of considerable abilities, and of regular moral habits, seems to be a matter of fact, which we see no reason to dispute. We also admit, that among his numerous sayings, there are many excellent maxims; but we really have not been able to find any ground for the lofty epithets, applied to him by some celebrated opponents of divine truth.

In the whole compass of his writings, there does not appear to us to be a single idea above the reach of any plain man at all accustomed to reflection. As to the all-important points, for the certain developement of which, divine revelation seems to us absolutely necessary, Confucius leaves them entirely untouched. On the nature and government of the Supreme Being, he says little;—of a future state, almost nothing;—and on the method by which a guilty world may be restored to the image and favor of God, he has given us no information, which is not as much at variance with sound philosophy, as it is with revealed truth.

We have no reason however to suppose that Confucius was an Atheist; for, although he gives us no satisfactory view of the attributes and government of one supreme God, he often speaks with much apparent reverence of some high Ruler, which he calls Teen; and his works afford sufficient proof, that he believed in "Gods many and Lords many." It is supposed, however, that the generality of his pretended followers of the present day, have sunk into absolute Atheism.

He seems to have lived in times of great degeneracy, especially among the higher ranks of society; and it does not appear that his labors produced either a general or very permanent reformation, notwithstanding the lofty things, that are said by himself and his admirers, as to the all-renovating efficacy of his omnipotent virtue.

He himself frequently lamented, that his doctrines were not embraced, and that his exertions had little influence on his depraved countrymen.

In fact during his life, his fame does not seem to have been very great; and perhaps what has contributed, more than any thing else, to his having become an object of lasting admiration to his countrymen, is his having collected the scattered fragments of ancient legislators, moralists, and poets, and handed them down to posterity.

These writings, which contain many true and faithful maxims, mixed up with many false and dangerous principles, may have, no doubt, a considerable influence on the morals of the Chinese; although, like many professing christians, while they pronounce the highest encomiums on their sage and his doctrines, they neither imitate his example, nor follow his advice, when the one or the other comes in competition with their sensual gratifications or worldly advantage. The influence these writings have had on the language and literature of the Chinese, has been still more powerful. The circumstance of these and little else having been, from time immemorial, carefully studied or committed to memory, not only by what are deemed the literati, but even by the common school boy, has no doubt contributed most powerfully to fix their most singular language; so that during a period in which many other languages have undergone almost an entire change, the Chinese has remained the same with scarcely the shadow of change. *Intro. pp. 11—13.*

About three hundred years after Confucius, the number of independent States was reduced to seven. These were soon after amalgamated into one; and a system established, of which the great outlines continue to this day. Dr. Milne says, "The wisdom of the ancient sages and rulers of China, formed a code of laws, which, with many defects, possessed also great excellencies."

The work styled *THE FOUR BOOKS*, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, is highly esteemed among the Chinese, as containing the doctrines and precepts of "The Teacher of ten thousand ages," as they call Confucius. They were collected, it is said, by several of his disciples, within one hundred years after the death of the philosopher. The present translation by Mr. Collie, is said to be the only complete version, that has been made in any European language; and, highly vaunted as these writings have been by the Chinese, no ordinary person, we believe, could have patience to read it through.

The first book is the most intelligible and instructive. The following are among the choicest of its maxims, selected from fourteen pages of which the book consists. The general subject is, the philosophical mode of attaining perfect virtue.

That which you hate in superiors, do not practice in your conduct towards inferiors; that which you dislike in inferiors, do not practice towards superiors; that which you hate in those before you, do not exhibit to those behind you; that which you hate in those behind you, do not manifest to those before you; that which you hate in those on your right, do not manifest to those on your left; and that which you hate in those on your left, do not manifest to those on your right. *p. 10.*

The good prince first pays serious attention to virtue. Having virtue, he obtains men; having men, he obtains territory; having territory, he obtains revenue; having revenue, he has sufficient supplies for all useful purposes. Virtue is the root; revenue, the branches. If you lightly esteem the root, and attend principally to the branches, you excite disorder and rapine among the people. p. 11.

The Tsin book says, "had I a minister of unbending fidelity, although he might appear to possess no other talent, yet were his mind enlarged and generous, when he saw a man of eminent talents, he would view his talents as if they were his own. p. 12.

The second book is called "Chung Yung," or the Golden Medium. Much of it is extremely mystical and senseless. The following passages are among the most rational.

Sec. 1. What heaven has fixed, is called nature. To accord with nature, is called *Taon*. To cultivate *Taon*, is called learning.

The superior man, in according with others, does not descend to any thing low or improper. How unbending his valor! He stands in the middle, and leans not to either side. How firm the valor of the superior man! When a nation treads in the right path, he changes not what he held fast, previous to his promotion to office. How undaunted his valor! When a nation departs from the right path, he changes not his course until death.* Book II. p. 6.

This may serve as a sufficient specimen of the instructions of Confucius. He inculcated filial piety towards parents, and unre-served obedience to the will of the emperor, who is regarded as the father of his subjects. And it is this *patriarchal* principle, which has unquestionably contributed much to the stability of that singular government. At the same time, it is to be remarked concerning the book before us, that though it abounds in allusions to some superior and invisible power, yet the idea of God, as a voluntary and governing Being, possessing moral perfections, and maintaining a moral government over men, is no where to be found. The precepts of virtue derive no influence from the sanctions of a supreme law. Much more, the motives to good which alone are able ef-

* Note by the translator.

If we may give full credit to the ancient records of China, on this point, no nation under heaven can boast of more independent, upright, and magnanimous statesmen, than China has produced at various periods of her history.

The translator has in his possession a document laid before Taon Kwang, the present emperor, in 1822, by two officers of government complaining of certain abuses, which manifests a spirit of fearless independence, and a firm determination to do their duty, without regard to consequences. At the close, they boldly inform his majesty, that if he should subject them to the axe, or the boiling caldron, they are not afraid. The emperor, however, declared, that they had showed themselves great and faithful ministers, and imbued with the spirit of the celebrated statesmen of antiquity.

fectually to move the sinner's heart, the motives derived from a promise of pardon through an atonement, are entirely wanting. Confucius himself complied with the superstitions of the people, as most other professed atheists have done, in time of trouble, sickness, and death, when the soul instinctively "feels after, if haply it may find" some higher power to lay hold of, beyond the shock of mortal vicissitudes. His followers have generally been idolaters.

It is foreign to our purpose to trace the succession of dynasties, authentic or fabulous, which appear in Chinese history. There is strong reason to believe, that the accounts which are given of the ancient greatness and union of the empire, are all deceptive, and that it never became united under a settled government till 500 years after Christ. In the year 1260, the empire was subdued by Kublai-khan, a descendent of the famous Genghis-khan, the Mongul Tartar; and thus a Tartar dynasty was established. But the conqueror conformed in the main to the Chinese usages, so that no great change was made in the government. The present dynasty of Man-tchoo Tartars, began in 1644. They in fact added China to their own territory, and still govern the Chinese as a subjugated nation. They often contemptuously say, "China-men furnish the breasts which we suck." The Chinese have no other way, but as they express themselves, "quietly to eat down the insult." There cannot be a perfect coalescence of such materials. Indeed the formidable rebellions which are continually springing up, especially the recent one, under prince *Chang-hi-khor*, show the fallacy of that opinion, which has represented China as the abode of perfection and peace.

The population, revenue, and military force of China, like every thing else concerning a people who "lie by system," and admit no witnesses, are subjects of endless disputes. Even the few travelers who have penetrated the interior, differ widely in regard to the appearances of wealth and populousness, which they witnessed. The population has been estimated at 333,000,000, and the revenue at £412,000,000 sterling. But Dr. Morrison, from an *official* census, states the population at 150,000,000. So also does De Guignes, who accompanied the Dutch embassy to Peking in the year 1793.

Buddhism, or the religion of Fo, is said to have been brought from India about A. D. 61. The emperor *Ming-te* remembered in a dream the saying of Confucius, that "the Holy One is to be found in the West." He accordingly sent ambassadors in search of the person and his doctrines. The messengers unfortunately stopped in India, and brought back the mysteries of Buddhu instead of christianity. To the doctrine that all things sprung from nothing, and will finally be absorbed into nothing again, together with the transmigration of souls, Buddhism added a degrading idolatry, the worship of almost every created thing, animate or inanimate, and

superstitions without number. This system has carried the Chinese farther from the truth than before; and by increasing the degradation of their minds and the pollution of their affections, has rendered them still more difficult of access by the gospel, as it has destroyed those rational principles inculcated in the writings of the learned.

China, says Dr. Milne, has gods celestial, terrestrial, and subterraneous—gods of the hills, of the vallies, of the woods, of the districts, of the family, of the shop, and of the kitchen! She adores the gods who are supposed to preside over the thunder, the rain, the fire; over the grain, over births and deaths, and over the small pox: she worships “the host of heaven, the sun, the moon, and the stars.” She also worships the genii of the mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas; together with birds, beasts, and fishes. She addresses prayers and offers sacrifices to the spirits of departed kings, sages, heroes; and parents whether good or bad. Her idols are silver and gold, wood and stone and clay; carved or molten, “the work of men’s hands.” Her altars are on the high hills, in the groves, under the green trees; she has set up her idols at the corners of the streets on the sides of the highways, on the banks of canals, in boats, and in ships. Astrology, divination, geomancy, and necromancy, every where prevail. Spells and charms every one possesses. They are hung about the neck, or stitched up in one’s clothes, or tied to the bed-posts, or written on the door; and few men think their persons, children, shops, boats, or goods safe without them. The emperors of China, her statesmen, her merchants, her people, and her PHILOSOPHERS are all idolaters. Retrospect, pp. 29, 30.

It is said, that Jews followed Alexander the Great in his eastern conquests; and that some of them found their way to China, where they settled in the silk provinces, and still retain their nationality. The Mohammedans also came in with the Western Tartars, in the thirteenth century, and had great influence in improving astronomy and the arts. There can be no doubt, that many things which the Chinese writers say have been known in China from time immemorial, were introduced by the followers of Genghis-khan, from the discoveries of the learned Arabians of that day. Indeed every ray of light which is thrown upon their history, demonstrates the falsehood of the Chinese annals. The currency of their many fables has been owing to the same cause as the excessive ignorance and arrogance of the Chinese themselves; the remoteness of their situation, the difficulties of their language, and the limited intercourse between them and the western nations. The wonder has been magnified by distance and darkness, while each successive narrator has felt called upon to add a little to the marvels of his predecessors.

The government of China is one of the most extraordinary peculiarities of this strange empire. It is a perfect despotism, so complete that it reigns over the opinions of the mind, over

the social affections, over dress, and over the minutest actions of the people. The grand objection to christianity seems to be, that it is something which *cannot be governed*. The government "cannot endure that one of the people should have a single sentiment or observance, which it could not have power to alter or suppress." In the execution of this government, Dr. Milne says, "Their nation groans under oppression and violence, their courts are filled with bribery and deceit. It is understood by all who have any concern with Chinese functionaries, high or low, that a gift blindeth the eyes." Deguignes says, "I have every where seen the strong oppress the weak." The rapacity of superiors is the rod of terror which hangs over all inferiors; and under this every one lives and acts, except his "golden footed" majesty on the throne. A riot among the sailors at Whampoa brings forth the governor of Canton to "*squeeze*" the Hong merchants, who are made responsible for the good conduct of the foreigners. If the knowledge of it reaches the next superior in office, the governor must be *squeezed* for not keeping his post in peace. He is held responsible for the *Hong*. The next superior, in like manner, is responsible to some higher power, and so on till the news reaches Peking for a final *squeeze*. Thus the whole government of the empire is a matter of police, and that police consists in a complete system of suretiship, (*fidejussio*), by which every officer is held responsible for the peace of his bailiwick. The object is not justice, nor comfort, nor improvement, but *peace*. The man who stands sponsor, must answer for all disorders and complaints, first with his purse, and if that does not satisfy the desires of his superior, then with his head. The love of presents is the ruling passion, whose universality gives uniformity to the whole government. From the emperor down, each superior uses his subordinate officers, as a sponge to suck up the riches of the people. Of course, whenever a sponge is full, it is *squeezed*.

There is, however, one check upon the prodigious despotism of China; one which has doubtless contributed its full share to render that government more just, as well as more peaceful, than any other arbitrary government known; and one too, which will subject it to the modifying power of general knowledge, as the light of science and religion shall spread among the people. We allude to the *publicity* of all governmental acts. By immemorial usage, a constitution more binding, in China at least, than the proceedings of congresses and conventions, the gate of the city is the place where all, especially foreigners, make their appeal for justice. Even his imperial majesty frequently descends to the gate of the court of his palace, where he sits in judgment, with the great officers of state. Besides this, all the important transactions of the whole empire are published daily at Peking, in the Court Gazette. This "official organ" throws all the productions of our daily press

into the shade, its size commonly reaching to sixty or seventy pages. This is sent by couriers into all parts of the empire, and in it the emperor is daily seen on trial, justifying or seeming to justify himself, to the tribunal of his own subjects and of public opinion. Nothing can be so galling to the unjust and tyrannical, as this constrained publicity. It probably comes nearer in its influence, than any thing else, to the efficacy of civil liberty, and the trial by jury; and will at once prepare the way for these privileges, and act in some measure as a substitute for them, in the mean time.

There is one other circumstance worthy of remark here, concerning the government. Its fundamental principle is the *doctrine of perfection*. The assumption is, that China is the center of the world, directly beneath the light, while the most favored of nations enjoy only a glimmer of twilight, on the outskirts around. Their whole intercourse with other nations is a tissue of the most arrogant pretensions on the one hand, and the most abasing concessions on the other. The emperor is called "The son of heaven"—"The emperor of all under the starry sky," etc.

China, notwithstanding the advantages which she has enjoyed from the writings of her sages and the wisdom of her lawgivers, possesses little intellectual and moral excellence—little honorable principle as a nation—little regard to truth; but much fraud and artifice, and contempt of other tribes of men. She possesses, in an astonishing measure, the art of turning all her intercourse with foreigners to her own honor and advantage; while they are made to feel their own insignificance and dependence. Idle displays of majesty and authority must satisfy those nations which seek her alliance; for in vain will they look for truth or respectful treatment. If they can be contented to bow down, and acknowledge that their bread, their water, and their existence are the effects of her bounty; she will not deal unkindly with them. But, woe to that nation which dares presume even to *think* itself equal, or within a thousand degrees of equality—that nation is rude, barbarous, obstinate, and unfilial: not to tear it up root and branch, is a display of forbearance worthy of the Sovereign of the celestial empire alone! Retrospect, p. 24.

As a ridiculous instance of this national vanity, it is stated in the Register, an English newspaper published at Canton, that the money of a foreign king is not allowed to circulate, until by battering, stamping, clipping, etc. the face of the *barbarian* is so far disfigured, as to prevent his receiving over much honor. In speaking of foreigners, even in their hearing, the Chinese ordinarily use the most contemptuous language: such as "foreign devil," "red bristled devil," etc. They sometimes call dollars, "devil-faced money;" and foreign languages they call "devil's talk." In perfect accordance with the same principle, the Chinese have invariably regarded the splendid embassies, which several European courts have thought proper to send to Peking, as tributary acknowledgements to the power and grandeur

of the celestial empire; and they tell the ambassadors that their several nations are highly honored, in being permitted to bring their presents to his golden-footed majesty.* Their foreign trade is restricted to the single port of Canton, and even there to a company called the *Hong*. This singular corporation is composed of merchants, each trading on his own account, and for his sole profit, but the whole are made responsible for the debts of each. When one becomes bankrupt, the governor assigns the time in which his debts shall all be paid by the *Hong*. This time is longer or shorter, according to the greatness of the failure, and the ability of the *Hong* to meet the payment, without a vital derangement of their business.

The Hong-merchants are not considered by the Chinese as a respectable class of men, but are thought to have degraded themselves, by their intercourse with foreigners, and their devotion to trade. Those who venture abroad for traffic, are considered as outlaws, and the fundamental constitutions of the empire forbid their return. Though even here, we see the tottering and crumbling of the edifice of bigotry; since violations of this usage are constantly committed with impunity. The Chinese government at Peking, has always represented the permission to trade at Canton as a mere concession, an act of charity to the miserable wretched foreigners, who supplicate the imperial bounty. Of course all the subordinate authorities hold out the idea, that trade is a matter of the utmost indifference to China; and a threat to stop the trade has been a rod of terror, to be held over the heads of the foreign merchants. They have actually succeeded in impressing the factors of the English East India company with fears, that their trade will be stopped, unless they comply with every arbitrary mandate, and bow in silence to every exaction and indignity. The Americans, and some of the French, have been less submissive. The more intelligent among them believe, that the Chinese government dares not interrupt the trade, for fear of a rebellion among its own subjects, whose wealth or comfort depends on foreign commerce.

The liberalizing effect of commerce is already felt to the remotest bounds of the empire. The articles of convenience and luxury enjoyed by other nations, begin to be introduced, and to destroy that fond dream of Chinese superiority, which has so long held these countless millions, in an unnatural paralysis of the soul. Improvements in machinery and manufactures, will soon enable the western nations, to compete successfully with the Chi-

* Anderson thus describes the reception of Lord Macartney's embassy, in 1793. "We entered the empire like paupers, remained in it like prisoners, and quitted it like vagabonds."

nese in their own market. Indeed it is a fact that even now, considerable quantities of American cottons have been sent to Canton within the past year. Thus the traffic in dollars will soon come to an end, and a commerce grow up, consisting in a direct interchange of commodities useful and pleasing; a trade profitable to both parties, and necessarily enlarging the conceptions of the bigoted Chinese. Already has this fact begun to raise up a power above the despotism of the golden city, in the wants of the people for foreign articles. Thus by degrees this gigantic enemy of light and truth, will be checked and pinioned by the will of the people; and the way will be opened for the free promulgation of the gospel among those countless millions, now sitting in the grossest darkness.

It has been a currently received opinion that christianity was planted in China by the Nestorians from India, in the seventh century. Mosheim has admitted the fact, but Dr. Milne thinks it wants confirmation. He says "no authentic Chinese records, that I have yet seen, make the least mention of the coming of that sect into China, or of their efforts, doctrines, sufferings, or extinction there." Lecompte himself admits that whatever mention Chinese history has made of this, "yet it is done in so few words, and in so careless and obscure a manner," that the fact never would have been known, but from other evidence." He then gives an account of the discovery of a marble tablet in the year 1625, in the province of *Chensi*, which contains a long inscription dated in 782, recording the history of the Nestorian church for one hundred and forty-six years. But this inscription is evidently a forgery of later ages, or more probably the whole story is a fable; for the usages recorded are not those of the seventh century, but of the fifteenth. It is an unaccountable circumstance, that the Nestorians should have remained in China eight hundred years, and have been patronized by successive emperors, and yet not one of their histories contain a single well established allusion to the sect.*

* As it will be a curiosity to our readers, we copy father Lecompte's history of the discovery of this ancient monument, with a short extract from the inscription which it was alledged to contain.

"In the year 1625, some masons digging near Sigmaufou, the capital of the province of Chensi, found a long table of marble, which had been heretofore erected as a monument in the manner they build them in China, and which time had buried in the ruins of some building, or had hid in the ground, so that no remains were visible. This stone which was ten feet long and six foot broad, was very nicely examined, the more for this reason, because on the top of it there was a large cross handsomely graved, below which was a long discourse in Chinese characters, and other letters which the Chinese did not understand; they were Syriac characters. The emperor had notice of it, and had a copy

The church of Rome first extended its direct efforts to China in the 16th century. Johannes a Monte Corvino was sent to Kublai-Khan, the emperor of the Tartars, in the thirteenth, and he is said by Mosheim to have planted some churches in China also. But father Lecompte does not even pretend to affirm this. Francis Xavier was on his way to commence a mission among the Chinese, when he died, in the year 1552, at the little island of San-ciam. Lecompte says, "God had a mind to reward his zeal, his labors, and his charity; and was willing to defer for a time that torrent of mercy which he designed for the empire of China, that he might reward his servant with that glory, which he had procured for so many nations."*

Matthew Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, laid the foundation of Romanism in China, soon after the death of Xavier. According to Lecompte, he was eminently qualified for a missionary to China. "He spoke their language fluently, and understood their writings perfectly; this was joined to a sweet, easy, complaisant temper, and a certain insinuating behavior, which none but himself had, which it was hard to resist; but above all, an ardor which the Holy Ghost instils into the workmen of the Lord's harvest."†

We have not room to detail the success of the Romish laborers, nor the wonderful persecutions which were endured with so much firmness, both by the missionaries and their converts. Our protestant authors, who have made themselves as familiar as possible with their history, give the following candid view of their character and works.

The learning, personal virtues, and ardent zeal of some of them, deserve to be imitated by all future missionaries—will be equaled by few,—and perhaps rarely exceeded by any. Their stedfastness and triumph in the midst of the persecutions, even to blood and death, in all imaginable forms of terror, which they endured in Japan, China, etc. show that the

of it sent him, and did command that the monument should be carefully kept in a Pagoda; where it now is, about a mile from Sigmaufou."

The following extract from the inscription will show its modern origin. After describing the fall of man, and the mission of the Savior, it proceeds thus:

"He instituted baptism for the washing away of sin, and layed down his life on the cross for all men without exception. His ministers cut not off their beards, but have *their head shaved except a circle of hair which they leave on*. They have no servants, for they make themselves superior to none, whether in the height of prosperity or in the depth of affliction. Instead of heaping up riches, they willingly give their little all to those who are in want. They fast both for mortification of themselves, and in observance of the laws. They reverence their superiors and honor all good men. They *pray seven times a day for the dead and for the living*. They offer sacrifice every week, to purge them from their sins and to purify their hearts." *Memoirs and Observations*, pp. 342, 349.

* *Memoirs*, p. 353. † *Ibid.* p. 356.

adulterated christianity which they taught, is to be ascribed to the effect of education, not to design; and also afford good reason to believe, that they have long since joined "*the noble army of martyrs*," and are now wearing the crown of those "who spared not their lives from death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony." It is also, not to be doubted, that many sinners were, through their labors, turned from sin to God; for we have abundant cause to think, that wherever the great lines of the gospel are made known, should there even be a mixture of error with the truth, God will not suffer his word entirely to fall to the ground. They will finally have due "praise from God;" and let us never cherish a reluctance to consider them as fellow-workers in His kingdom. Retrospect, pp. 12, 13.

The Greek church has a chapel in Pekin, under the protection of the Russian embassy, but it is an official establishment, precluded of course from any attempts at proselyting.

The first protestant mission to China was undertaken by the London Missionary Society, in the year 1807, when Mr. Morrison was sent to Canton, to acquire the language, and to qualify himself for the translation of the scriptures. He proceeded to China, by the way of Philadelphia; and the Retrospect makes honorable mention of the kindness he received from many ministers of various denominations. A letter from Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, to Mr. Carrington the American Consul at Canton, introduced him to the civilities of our countrymen there; who showed him much kindness for several years, while those of his own nation treated him with studied neglect.

Dr. Morrison soon found, that the severity of the government forbade all hopes of his inculcating christianity, to any great extent, by oral instruction. "To address an individual or two with fear and trembling in an inner apartment, with the doors securely locked," was all that could be done in this way. He therefore applied himself to the business of translation; and has spent more than twenty years in the preparation of tracts, of a version of the scriptures, and of a dictionary of the Chinese language. A great part of the common people in China, are early taught to read; and it is through the press chiefly, that divine truth can be diffused throughout that great empire.

At an early period the question arose for our translator to decide, concerning the style he should adopt for his version of the scriptures. We copy some remarks on this subject at full length, because notwithstanding our ignorance of the language precludes us from a positive assertion, we are strongly inclined to believe, that the middle and colloquial styles which Dr. Morrison has adopted, afford the only color for the rude attacks which have been made upon his scholarship, and his competency for the work of translating the scriptures.*

* Julius Van Klaproth, a learned but irascible German orientalist, has seen fit to call Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, "a blundering production."

In Chinese books, as in those of most other nations, there are three kinds of style:—a high, a low, and a middle style. The style which prevails in the Woo-king and Sze-shoo, is remarkably concise, and considered highly *classical*. Most works of fiction of the lighter sort, are written in a style perfectly *colloquial*. The San-kwō, a work much admired in China, holds in point of style, a *middle place* between these two. He at first inclined to the middle style; but afterwards, on seeing an imperial work, called Shing-yu, designed to be read twice a month, in the public halls of the different provinces, for the instruction of the people in relative, and political duties, and which is paraphrased in a perfectly colloquial style, he resolved to imitate this work.

1. Because it is more easily understood by the bulk of the people.
2. Because it is intelligible when read in an audience, which the high classical style is not at all. The middle style is also intelligible when read in public, but not so easily understood as the lower style.
3. Because it can be quoted verbatim when preaching, and is understood by the people without any paraphrastic explanation. Retrospect, pp. 89, 90.

We do not intend to go into the argument, on the subject of Dr. Morrison's ability. But the fact that he has now lived more than twenty years in daily intercourse with the Chinese, that he has nearly the whole time served as the official translator and interpreter of the East India Company, that Sir George Staunton testifies in the fullest manner to his ability, that his dictionary is approved by the learned in China, that his translations as well as his own writings, are read, understood, and approved by the common people, for whom religious instruction always ought to be especially adapted, and that those who derive their instructions from him do acquire the real Chinese language, which serves them in the ordinary intercourse of life—all these circumstances certainly afford a strong presumption that the Herculean labors, on which he has spent his life, and founded his reputation, are not an imposition upon the benevolence of those christians, who have sustained the immense expense of his mission.

We had collected from various sources a variety of interesting particulars concerning the history and progress of this mission. But finding they would take up too much space, if given in full, we have determined to omit them. We do this the rather because the most of them have already come before the American public, in one form or another. A greater interest will be taken in the following account of *Chinese printing*, which will be new to our readers.

The process of preparing for and printing with the blocks, or in the stereotype way, is as follows. The block, or wooden plate, ought to be of the *Lee*, or *Tsau* tree, which they describe thus:—"The *Lee* and *Tsau* are of a fine grain, hard, oily, and shining; of a sourish taste; and what vermin do not soon touch, hence used in printing." The plate is first squared to the size of pages, with the margin at top and bottom; and is in thickness generally about half an inch. They then smooth it on both sides with a joiner's plane; each side contains two pages, or rather indeed

but one page according to the Chinese method of reckoning; for they number the *leaves*, not the pages of a book. The surface is then rubbed over with rice, boiled to a paste, or some glutinous substance, which fills up any little indentments, not taken out by the plane, and softens and moistens the face of the board, so that it more easily receives the impression of the character.

The transcriber's work is, first to ascertain the exact size of the page; the number of lines, and of characters in each line: and then to make what they call a *Kih*, or form of lines, horizontal and perpendicular, crossing each other at right angles, and thus leaving a small square for each character—the squares for the same sort of character, are all of equal size, whether the letter be complicated as to strokes, or simple: a letter or character with fifty strokes of the pencil, has no larger space assigned to it than one with barely a single stroke. This makes the page regular and uniform in its appearance, though rather crowded, where many complicated characters follow each other in the same part of the line. The margin is commonly at the top of the page, though not always so. Marginal notes are written, as with us, in a smaller letter. This form of lines, being regularly drawn out, is sent to the printer, who cuts out all the squares, leaving the lines prominent; and then prints off as many sheets, commonly in *red ink*, as are wanted. The transcriber then with black ink, writes in the squares from his copy; fills up the sheet; points it; and sends it to the block-cutter, who, before the glutinous matter is dried up from the board, puts the sheet on inverted, rubs it with a brush and with his hand, till it sticks very close to the board. He next sets the board in the sun, or before the fire, for a little time, after which he rubs off the sheet entirely with his fingers; but not before a clear impression of each character has been communicated. The graving tools are then employed, and all the white part of the board is cut out, while the black, which shows the character, is carefully left. The block being cut with edged tools of various kinds, the process of printing follows. The block is laid on a table; and a brush made of hair, being dipped in ink, is lightly drawn over the face. The sheets being already prepared, each one is laid on the block, and gently pressed down by the rubbing of a kind of brush, made of the hair of the *Tsung tree*. The sheet is then thrown off; one man will throw off two thousand copies in a day. Chinese paper is very thin, and not generally printed on both sides, though in some particular cases that is also done. *Retrospect*, pp. 226—228.

The second work placed at the head of this article, (*Memoirs of Dr. Milne*) is got up with less regard to the art of book making, than any thing we remember to have seen. Indeed it was evidently intended by Dr. Morrison, only as a medium of preserving some memorials of the private character of his deceased fellow laborer. It consists of a number of extracts from the diary and other writings, of Dr. Milne, with the most scanty notices of dates and events by the biographer, and is literally without beginning or end, in the critical sense of those terms.

Dr. Milne was born in the year 1785, in the north of Scotland, a region which has furnished several other devoted servants of Christ, in the foreign service. Losing his father at an early period, he fell under the care of a relative who neglected his morals, to such a degree that he became noted for wickedness, profanity,

and violence. He was put out at service very early, and lived in different places. When about thirteen years old, his outward conduct became quite altered, in consequence, as he says, of reading some religious books. About three years after, the reading of Boston's Fourfold State made him acquainted with his own heart, and convinced him of his depravity and ruin.

After his conversion, he made a written dedication of himself to God, "to be ruled, sanctified, and saved by him." "This," he says, "was followed by much peace and happiness of mind, with earnest desires to be holy, with a determination to cast in my lot among the despised followers of the Lamb, and with a concern for the salvation of immortal souls." Soon after, he left the kirk of Scotland, because the preaching he heard there was "chiefly of a moral kind;" and attached himself to the Congregationalists. He was much opposed for it by his relatives, because he was the only one of the family that had ventured to be thus singular, and because they construed his secession into a reflection on the piety and wisdom of his forefathers. But he says, "to die in peace, and have part in the first resurrection, were things infinitely more important, in my eyes, than the approbation of all that were related to me in the flesh, yea, than the applause of the whole world."

His desires for the salvation of others, so characteristic of an evangelical spirit, led him to teach in the sabbath schools, where he was greatly esteemed, and his addresses to the children were uncommonly interesting. His heart became enlarged to long for the salvation of the heathen, and after spending many nights in prayer on the subject, he at length obtained so decided a conviction of duty, that no discouragements could deter him from offering himself; and he was willing to fill the meanest station in promoting the conversion of the perishing heathen.

He spent above *five years*, in the first place, in making provision for his widowed mother, and his sisters. "If I leave my mother and sisters unprovided for," said he, "the cause of missions will be reproached; and should I ever be tempted to doubt my call to the missionary work, this consideration may add to these doubts." The example of the Savior himself, who when hanging on the cross, and agonizing for the salvation of a world, made provision for his mother, sufficiently justifies this instance of filial piety.

The following authentic anecdote illustrates his humility and zeal. When he first came before the committee at Aberdeen, who were to decide the question whether he should prepare for the missionary work, his appearance was so rustic and unpromising that a leading member of the committee said he "could not recommend him as a missionary, but would have no objections to

join in recommending him to go as a servant to a mission, provided he would be willing to go in that capacity." On this being stated to Milne, and the inquiry put, whether he would accede to such a proposal, he replied without a moment's hesitation, and with the most animated expression of countenance, "Yes sir, most certainly; I am willing to be any thing, so that I am in the work." The question being put to him by one of the committee, whether a young man could have a call from God to this work, unless his heart was *full* of love to the Savior, he replied, "I cannot say, sir, how it may be with others; but if my call to the missionary work is to be decided by such a state of mind as you have described, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have not yet been called to that work. I feel no rapture; and when I compare the state of my heart with the character of the Savior, I am often tempted to question whether I yet really love him or not."

Mr. Milne was ordained at the Rev. Mr. Griffin's chapel, Portsea, on the 16th of July, 1812, was married the 4th of August following, and embarked for China on the 2d of September. We make the following quotation from the confession of faith which he exhibited at his ordination, because it illustrates two important points. The first is, that requiring a candidate for ordination to state his religious views in his own way, affords a far better opportunity of learning what is his real belief, than a bare subscription to a prescribed formulary could do; and therefore enables the ordaining body to judge more confidently of his intelligent familiarity with revealed truth. The other fact to which we allude is this, that those views of the gospel which consider it as a message to *ALL*, and of regeneration as consisting in a *moral*, and not a *physical* change, are essential to the missionary spirit. Even in respect to those who have been educated in a different belief, if they are in any good measure accustomed to "*reason out of the scriptures*," we do not believe they can be long engaged in the missionary cause, (unless it is from motives purely sectarian) without coming to a substantial conviction that the gospel is addressed to all, and makes proposals to all; and that the change involved in regeneration consists in the existing faculties of the soul being "*purified and changed in respect to their use*."

As the gospel is a declaration of the mercy of God to the miserable children of Adam, I believe that it is to be preached to all men, of every class, of every country, and of every description of character. Its blessings are to be exhibited by the ministers of Christ to *ALL*, without distinction. There is no impediment in the way of the salvation of men, except what arises from the impenitence and unbelief of their own hearts. If they receive the gospel, and walk before God in holiness and righteousness, they shall be saved;—if they reject the gospel, and continue in sin, they must endure eternal misery, as the necessary result of their own sin.

Man, on account of the blindness, obstinacy, and disorder of his heart, is under a MORAL INCAPACITY of perceiving the things of the Spirit of God, so as to love them and delight in them; therefore I believe that he, in order to salvation, must undergo a divine change, by which he may be brought to love God supremely, to hate sin as an infinite evil, and to desire holiness as the greatest excellence. In this change, the faculties of the soul are not RADICALLY CHANGED, nor any new ones added; but they are purified and changed in respect to their use. *Memoirs*, pp. 24, 25.

From his answer to the question, "How do you purpose to exercise your ministry among the heathen?" two extracts are given, accompanied by Dr. Morrison's notes, and they are eminently worthy of consideration, by all who are concerned in the management of missionary affairs. The first shows the necessity that christians should make provision, separate from their missions to the heathen, for the religious instruction and improvement of their own countrymen, whom commerce or other motives may carry to reside in heathen countries.

I resolve, should God carry me safely to the heathen, and continue my health, to prosecute my studies, in order to attain a greater knowledge of the word of God—to pay particular attention to the language of the heathen; during which time, should there be any Europeans in the place, I wish to spend the sabbath in promoting their best interests.

This, says Dr. Morrison, he did as long as he lived: but he sometimes doubted the propriety of deducting any time from his ministry to the heathen; for after a man's whole time and strength are devoted to such duties as those of a Chinese missionary, he will have to regret the defects of his preaching, and teaching, and praying. To be lucid, and impressive, and convincing in argument, amongst a people of a strange language, and manners, and sentiments, that have no similarity to our early knowledge and associations of ideas, is very difficult. *Memoirs*, p. 16.

These remarks fully justify the American Seaman's Friend Society, in their recent enterprize of sending a missionary to labor, as the chaplain of the American seamen and others, in the port of Canton; and establishes the conviction, that much more must be done by christians for their own countrymen abroad, before any very considerable farther advance will be made, in the evangelization of the world. The influence of example, in promoting or retarding the acceptance of the gospel salvation by the heathen, cannot be fully appreciated. And if our own people are left without the benefit of religious ordinances, while nominally the representatives of christianity, their conduct will in all probability form an insurmountable barrier to the reception of Christ. At the same time it is very plain, that a man devoted to the work of a missionary among the heathen, cannot well discharge the duties of a pastor among his own countrymen. He may preach indeed, either statedly or occasionally. But he cannot follow up his preaching, so as to gather in the fruits of it, un-

less by neglecting just so much of that peculiar business, for which the churches at home are sustaining him.

The other extract is earnestly commended to the attention of those church members, who seem to think that it is no matter how many privations their missionary brethren suffer; as though missionaries were a distinct sort of christians, and were alone called to make sacrifices for the spread of the gospel. Paul affectionately commended his brethren at Philippi, who contributed to his personal comfort during his perils. We doubt not that a blight will come upon the churches, who grudge the money which is needed for giving the greatest possible efficiency to missionary operations. At the same time it is to be carefully borne in mind, by those who have the oversight of such matters, that only a small portion of nominal christians give freely to missions; and therefore the resources available for this object are so limited, not by the ability, but by the parsimony of the church, that a liberal provision for a few missionaries will preclude them from any enlargement of their number. The remark which is sometimes made respecting the ordinary work of the ministry, is applicable also with peculiar force to missionaries—that there is so much respect, and honor, and hope of heaven attached to the very office, as to make it dangerous to have its support too liberal, lest men should assume it for other motives than love to Christ and to perishing souls. *Via media—via tuta.* The medium is to be sought, between liberality and parsimony, and if a man, however otherwise qualified, cannot submit to the privation of personal indulgencies without impairing his efficiency, he had better not go as a missionary.

As the money by which missionaries are supported is the fruit of the labor of the poor, and of the abundance of the rich; and as it is the property of the church of Christ, I shall always consider it a matter of conscience, says Mr. Milne, to use it sparingly.

This resolution, says Dr. Morrison, is good, but it requires to be qualified and guarded. What money is for the immediate furtherance of the gospel should not be used sparingly. The publication and distribution of the bible and good books; the best helps for acquiring a foreign language speedily, and well; teachers, dictionaries, etc. Money that tends to the preservation of a missionary's health, by affording him wholesome and nutritious food and drink; good air and lodging; and good medical aid; should not be spent grudgingly. Hard workers cannot be too well taken care of. Loungers, who study first their own ease and comfort, do not deserve the same treatment. No means for the conversion of the nations, that reason and scripture sanction, should be left untried, from an apprehension that the money will be used unsparingly. Let the property of the christian public be faithfully, judiciously, and liberally employed for the best causes. Let faithful missionaries be liberally supported. Call not their allowances charity or alms. Alas! do they deserve nothing of their brethren but fine speeches, and empty praises. What sacrifice does that disciple make who STAYS AT HOME and gives a little of his money, in com-

parison of the disciple who leaves father, and mother, and sister, and brother, and home, and gives HIMSELF to the work! Memoirs, pp. 17, 18.

Mr. Milne, with his wife, landed at Macao, the Portuguese settlement about eighty miles below Canton, July 4, 1813. He was immediately ordered away by the Portuguese governor, and leaving Mrs. Milne in Dr. Morrison's family he visited Java, and then Malacca, where he fixed upon the location of their proposed Mission College. In 1815, he returned to China and carried his family to Malacca, where he continued to reside as long as he lived. In March, 1819, he was called to the severe affliction of parting with his wife, leaving him with the care of four small children. This loss affected him very deeply, as he was possessed of a most affectionate disposition, and his habits of study rendered the aid of a "help-meet" very necessary to him. His own health continued to decline, till the second of June, 1822, when his earthly toils were terminated by death. His disorder was a pulmonary consumption, probably brought on by intense labor and close application to study, with too sedentary a mode of living.

His literary labors during the nine years he lived in China, are truly astonishing, especially when we take into view that he had first to learn the Chinese language, an undertaking which had heretofore appeared so formidable as to deter the scholars of Europe from attempting its accomplishment. It is true, he had the benefit of Dr. Morrison's instructions. But even then his achievements will render illustrious both the ability of the teacher, and the diligence and quickness of the pupil, and throw the charge of arrogance and pedantry upon those critics, who undertake, in the halls of Germany, to question the Chinese learning of men in daily intimacy with Mandarins in China itself. In few instances has the honor of a doctorate been so well merited by a theologian of eight years' standing, as was that conferred on Mr. Milne, by the University of Glasgow, in 1820.

Did our limits permit, we should gladly transfer to our pages a number of extracts from Dr. Milne's journal, illustrating the depth of his piety, and his indefatigable labors. But we have already allotted more space to his biography, than we are accustomed to do in such cases. We have done it the rather now, because the copy of the Memoir that lies before us is, so far as we can learn, the only one that has found its way to this country, and it is not a work likely to be reprinted here. We have therefore felt desirous to record on our pages this brief memorial of one, to whose name, centuries hence, two hundred millions of people, in and around China, will render the tribute of heartfelt gratitude.

We shall conclude this article, by calling the attention of our readers, for a moment, to the interesting inquiry, *In what way will the christian religion probably be introduced into China?*

On this point, probability of conjecture is all that we can attain. And after all our theorizing, He who sends the wind to blow "where it listeth," may cause deliverance to arise where it is least expected. Some have thought that the now degenerate Greek church might bear a leading part in this enterprise. It is true that the vast empire of Russia, professing the Greek faith, borders upon China, and there is a very guarded commercial and diplomatic intercourse maintained, over land, between St. Petersburg and Peking. The Russian Government have an establishment in Peking, and the individuals connected with it are allowed to worship in the forms of their church, in the chapel of the embassy. Indeed this privilege, of enjoying their own religion, is conceded, we believe to all foreigners, who have legal permission of residence. In regard to foreigners therefore, the only obstruction is the difficulty of obtaining leave to reside within the sacred borders. But a permission to reside, and to practice divine worship, is itself a stretch of liberality; and so far from conveying a tacit allowance to make converts of "China men," there is reason to believe that privileged residents will be watched with peculiar vigilance. So far as any importance attaches to the contact of the Russian borders upon China, it is to be kept in mind that it is Russian *Tartary* which joins China, and that the Greek faith, if it were even of apostolical purity and energy, must traverse some thousands of miles of pagan forests, before it could sound out its messages even to the outskirts of the "celestial empire." We can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the gospel will wait till all Tartary shall be full of churches, before it shall *begin* to be introduced into China.

There is still a farther difficulty in the case, arising from the religious condition of the Greek church itself. We are not very intimately acquainted with its state in Russia proper; but we suppose that under the influence of the scriptures which have been so extensively circulated, there may be some increase of genuine piety. We cherish, too, with the other friends of Greece, the most pleasing anticipations of the advantage which religion will eventually gain, from the emancipation of that ill fated country. But we cannot see any prospect of such a speedy and extensive regeneration of the whole Greek communion, as will fit it for a very large participation in the glorious work of evangelizing China. From many indications, it is plain that the adversary does not mean to be *quietly* dispossessed of so important a country as Greece. His emissaries will undoubtedly make great efforts to poison the minds of the Greek people with jealousy against protestant missionaries. The settlement of their political affairs, the resuscitation of their towns, and the procuring of the means of subsistence and comfort, will much engross their thoughts, and

perhaps prevent their attention to "the one thing needful." We do hope a powerful beginning will be made upon China, long before we can bring ourselves to believe, that Greece will be ready to bear a part, in this great christian enterprise.

Nor do we see, at present, any way in which the gospel can be carried directly into China, by living preachers. The case of China, and its kindred neighbor Japan, appears to be different in some respects, from that of any other country; and to present obstacles to the introduction of christianity, which are quite peculiar. If we mistake not, these are the only nations that have ever had long established and regular laws against christianity by name. In China the adoption of any other new religion is freely permitted; but it is death, by established law, for a Chinese to become a christian.

While the power of the government continues unbroken, and it is able at once to detect offenses and to punish them, in every part, even the remotest, of the empire, unawed by public opinion, it seems difficult to conceive how christianity can obtain the least footing within the empire, unless by the intervention of a miracle. It is the nature of christianity to make itself visible, wherever it exists; and the converts, therefore, wherever they are, must soon render themselves obnoxious to the laws, and attract the observation of a government so jealous, vigilant, and all-pervading, as that of China.

The probability is, that the first accessions of Chinese to the church, will be made without the limits of the empire. And the millions who are scattered among the Manillas, in Siam, and throughout the Islands of the eastern Archipelago, favor such a hope. The predominating power in those countries, of the two protestant governments of Great Britain and Netherlands, both to some extent favorable to evangelical labors, affords additional encouragement. The ancient Dutch churches scattered there, being in communion with the Reformed Dutch church in the United States, among whom the missionary spirit is seen to be rising and extending, may become important auxiliaries in the work. Commerce, bringing enlargement of knowledge, contact of mind, and the dissolution of prejudice, may open the way for further labors. The Burman mission, now so remarkably favored, will soon stretch its arms to China on the other side. But in regard to the empire itself, it is plain that printing must for the present be the principal means of spreading the knowledge of the gospel there.

In every cultivated language, the advantage of the press for the diffusion of knowledge, both human and divine, is evident to all. In the Chinese language, the importance of books, as a means of improvement, is perhaps greater than in any other living medium of communication. The

Chinese written language is read by a much larger proportion of mankind, than that of any other people. Its oral dialects are very numerous, and so widely different from each other, that persons of neighboring provinces, (as the writer has often witnessed) are frequently unable to carry on a conversation of any length, without having recourse to writing. The written language possesses a uniform identity unknown to some others. * * * Throughout the whole of that empire, as well as in most of its tributary, and several of its neighboring countries, the written character and idiom are, with a very few trifling exceptions, the same. Retrospect, p. 153.

The oral preaching of the gospel is indeed, by divine appointment, the principal means of salvation. And all evangelical arrangements should have an ultimate reference to this, and be subordinate to it. But where this is impracticable, tracts should be a substitute. "Who can tell whether these little ministers of peace, which are neither affected by climate, nor afraid of persecution, may not "prepare the way of the Lord, and make ready a people for him?"

Books and tracts are not only read and understood, but they can be circulated. The missionaries say that with reasonable caution they can be poured into China. The very regulation of the government, which confines all foreign trade to Canton, brings merchants from every province in the empire, to the same spot. There is the focus of moral illumination. Soon every one of these merchants may return, bearing with him a written message from God, capable of making both him and his neighbors, "wise unto salvation." This shows the extreme importance of having our merchants and factors there become men of decided piety, deeply devoted to the evangelization of China. Additional interest is therefore given to the provision, by which a young countryman of our own, has been sent to labor particularly among the nominally christian visitants, and residents, of Canton. The facilities which a zealous merchant might have for the dissemination of christian writings, must be very considerable. Besides, an influence may be hoped for, by establishing the public worship of God, in scriptural simplicity; by the stated observance of the sabbath, now lamentably neglected in all those eastern countries; by the establishment of modes of business, and principles of commercial integrity, consonant with the purity and strictness of scriptural rules; and more than all, by the example of men who walk by faith, and live above the world, and look for a portion beyond the grave.

The circumstance also, that the churches of America have now, at length, begun to take a part in the work, will strengthen the hands of the brethren, particularly of Dr. Morrison, who from the favorable impression made on his mind during his brief visit to this country at the commencement of his mission, has all along

been looking this way for aid. On this account we greatly rejoice, that the venerated AMERICAN BOARD have established a mission to China. We hope that they and their friends, will take effectual measures to keep this great concern before the minds of the benevolent public, and produce an increasing interest in behalf of a work, which looks directly to the conversion of *one-fourth of the human race*. Our principal motive, indeed, for calling the attention of our readers to the present state of China, has been the hope of doing something in this way, to awaken sympathy, and call forth prayer, and excite inquiry, and thus prepare the churches for more extended efforts, as soon as God shall open to them the door of entrance.

That by all these means, so much light can be thrown into China, and the dormant powers of the people be so far roused to thought and action, and that such a favorable impression towards the christian religion can be produced, as to create a public opinion more powerful than oppressive laws and persecuting rulers;—and this too antecedently to any extensive effect in the conversion of the people to a saving belief in Christ, is much more than we should dare to predict. But we can easily see, that by the diligent application of such means as are now practicable, the trains may be laid and the combustibles prepared, so that the moment when the word of the Lord shall begin to take effect, the fire shall catch and spread with such rapidity and power, that the blood of a thousand martyrs shall only speed its happy progress; and the greatest nation on earth thus “be born in a day.”

ART. VII.—REVIEW ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF NEW-ENGLAND. *Hart.*

History of New-England. By JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D. Charlestown: 1804.

THE causes which led to the establishment of the congregational churches of New-England, were not more remarkable than the wisdom and piety of their early founders. Very many of those excellent men, had ranked among the first scholars of England, both in native talent and literary attainments; and never probably, was there so large a community, in which so great a proportion of its members were unquestionably pious. Their religion had stood the test of bitter persecution in their native land; and had led them to encounter the dangers of the ocean, together with the hardships of a severe climate, a sterile soil, and savage warfare. We have neither space nor inclination for the mournful and yet splendid embellishment, of which the recital of their sufferings and valor is susceptible.

It is enough to say, that he who had sanctified them by his Spirit also sustained them by his providence; and constituted them the founders of the numerous institutions, which minister to our unexampled civil and religious freedom. As to their religion, we wonder not that it should be denounced as blind, excessive, or even enthusiastic, by multitudes of their thankless descendants, who, from their more eligible external circumstances, and especially from their moral degeneracy, are scarcely capable of forming a just estimate of the exalted worth and the ultimate intentions of their persecuted fathers. As to their doctrinal principles, we would only observe, that they were common to the church of England, and all the other reformed churches at that period. Of their practical godliness, we need only say, that prayer was maintained in nearly all their families; that their children were early taught the principles of the christian religion and carefully restrained from vice; that the most equitable laws were framed and carried into effect; that their dealings with the savages were marked by integrity and tenderness; and that a distinguished character from England who had resided with them seven years, had not during that period "heard a profane oath, or seen a person drunk." If truth is not so "fallen in our streets that equity cannot enter," let these facts be told whenever the customary invective is poured forth against the religious principles of our fathers, as made up of stern abstractions and speculative dogmas.

We have spoken chiefly of the first generation of the pilgrims. In a few years, causes began to operate, which rendered the infant community less pure. Not long after their arrival, "they were dead that sought the young child's life,"—Laud and Charles were no more. The colonists, therefore, enjoying peculiar favor during the protectorate of Cromwell, made such advances in subduing the wilderness and the savages, and such preparations generally for the comforts of life, as presented a lure to others of less intellect and less religious principle, to leave England and reside with them, from motives wholly secular. The example and counsels of parents did not result in the conversion of all their children. Hence the second generation was more indifferent to religion than the first; and by the time that the fourth came upon the stage,—the period immediately preceding the great revival—christians had become cold and formal, and the conduct of those out of the church was extensively marked by various kinds of profligacy. Nor, considering how needful chastisement is to the people of God, can it be thought strange, that religion should have greatly declined, in the absence of those numerous and peculiar trials which kept alive in the earlier settlers a sense of dependence, and a spirit of prayer. The generation of which we are speaking, were not, however,

wholly exempt from the rebukes of heaven. But what with general prosperity on the one hand, and a rapidly increasing population on the other; together with the uniform tendency of moral corruption to diffuse itself throughout the mass of every community into which it is introduced, the judgments which they occasionally experienced had frequently, we fear, little other effect, than that of inducing them to multiply their public fasts, without correspondent humiliation of soul.

From this general picture of the early declension in our settlements, we shall now pass to consider *some of the prevailing evils in our churches, at the memorable period from the close of the seventeenth century, to the termination of the great REVIVAL OF RELIGION in 1742.* Our object in presenting this sketch, is to prepare the way for an examination, on a future occasion, of the writings of some of those great men, and especially of Dr. Bellamy, by whose labors the evils in question, were either checked or removed. The history of that period is full of instructive lessons, which may serve as a warning against serious errors, and as an incentive to christian affection and unity in our churches.

The evils to which we have alluded were of *three* kinds; *errors in doctrine, improper ecclesiastical usages, and disorderly conduct.* The two former, as we shall show, had been of long standing in the churches, and the last was, in part, the unnatural result of the most powerful revival that has gladdened the people of God, since the first arrival of the pilgrims. The doctrines to which we allude belonged to three schools, the Arminian, the Arian, and the Antinomian.

The first class of erroneous doctrines, being peculiarly congenial to the feelings of the unsanctified heart, had been cherished, to some extent, from the time when the power of godliness in the churches, first began materially to decline. But so great was the ascendancy which the established formularies had over the public mind, and so powerful was the enlightening influence of the pulpit, as well as of catechetical instruction very generally dispensed, that two or three of the first generations passed away, without any extensive contamination from the tenets of the Remonstrants. One powerful cause which has since operated to diffuse the infection very generally through a large portion of the protestant world, had then scarcely begun to exert its unhappy influence in these colonies. The church of England, herself established on the same doctrinal basis as the churches of our fathers, had as yet, brought into the field few of her Arminian champions, to demolish the foundation on which she professedly stood. Whitby had indeed written, and he was great in plausibility and sophistry; but his writings had not long been circulated on this side of the Atlantic. Nor was the dissenting Taylor of Norwich known here to

have had a being, till the corruption of which we speak had, for that period, nearly reached its *maximum*. Yet, owing to some peculiar causes, though chiefly, we think, to the long increasing decline of vital piety in the churches generally, and to the unhallowed feelings called into exercise by the religious excitement now commencing in many of them, the leading errors pertaining to what now passes under the name of Arminianism,—errors, many of which Arminius himself would blush to own,—were extensively embraced and zealously propagated. The doctrines in question had awakened but little controversy, until within a few years before the commencement of the revival. “About this time (1734) began,” says President Edwards, “the great noise that was in this part of the country, about Arminianism, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion here. The friends of vital piety trembled for fear of the issue; but it seemed, contrary to their fear, strongly to be overruled for the promoting of religion.” As might have been expected, considerable opposition was raised, both by the abettors of those false doctrines and by the timid among the orthodox, against those preachers who publicly exposed and refuted them. But Edwards, with a heart devoted to truth, and an intellect peculiarly fitted to investigate and defend it, made a public attack upon this system of error, which resulted in the almost total extinction of it among his people, and in the advancement of the revival. Nor was he alone in his laborious exertions to resist the spreading corruptions. Bellamy and many others were engaged in the same cause, and their efforts were followed in various places, by similar results.

But on the whole, great mischief was produced by these errors. For, while at this time they spread throughout New-England with almost electrical rapidity, a large proportion of the ministers, instead of faithfully exhibiting their destructive tendency, were secretly inclined to favor them, and openly did many things which led directly or indirectly to the further propagation of them. Their divergency from the orthodox creed, and their consequent agency in promoting, whether insidiously or otherwise, the currency of Arminian tenets, is undoubtedly to be accounted for mainly, on the ground of their strong aversion to the prevailing religious excitement, and the peculiarly pungent truths of the gospel by which, under God, it was produced and diffused. As one striking evidence of the degree to which the dissatisfaction of many with evangelical doctrines arose, we would observe that in New-Hampshire, about fifteen years after the revival began, the Assembly's Catechism, which had been adopted by all the New-England churches, was published in a grossly mutilated form. From it were expunged the doctrine of decrees, effectual calling, justifica-

tion by faith, and the perseverance of the saints, together with many other doctrinal truths of that excellent formulary. Indeed, every thing was cast out or distorted, that did not accord with the scheme of Dr. John Taylor, whose writings, then just received into this country, were esteemed by multitudes throughout New-England, as the best human standard of faith.

Unitarianism, chiefly in the Arian form, was another corrupt system of doctrines, which began to be diffused, to some extent, previous to the period under review. Indeed the leaven had spread so considerably, as to warrant Dr. Bellamy in openly attacking it with his pen, and from the pulpit. If the daring speculations and dogmas of the Polish heresiarchs, who so far matured the scheme as to efface from it every distinctive feature of the gospel, were unknown to these colonies; yet the writings of many an English Arian or Socinian, were read with eagerness, and several distinguished men who retained as much of the character of free-thinkers, as was compatible with a cold assent to the general position that the bible is a revelation from God, had already imbibed the poison.

We pretend not to assign the precise date of the commencement of Unitarianism in our land. It had an underground progress for many years. It discovered itself gradually, by cautiously sounding those whom it hoped to influence; by suggesting doubts relative to some points of the orthodox faith; by avowing tenets which, from their affinity to the scheme, were acknowledged, often reluctantly, to be its legitimate fruits; and by various other expedients to advance the cause, without discovering to the people at large, the real object in view. Indeed, the way in which it was then diffused, was but the prototype of the manner in which, in our day, it has been more successfully propagated in and about the metropolis of New-England. It happened at that time, as it often does, when a few keen-sighted men perceive dangerous errors to be covertly introduced, and raise the voice of remonstrance and warning: the motives of those who first descried and proclaimed the danger, were arraigned. Some of the orthodox who had for several years perceived and deplored the growing mischief, were accused by their brethren of being too suspicious, and of acting under the influence of persons who, for political purposes, wished to cast the reproach of heterodoxy on a portion of their countrymen. Many of the friends of truth were exceedingly culpable for their blindness. In the face of clear evidence which, in spite of the attempted secrecy, could not but transpire, they were either so weak or so culpably charitable, as to believe that there were "no Arians, no Socinians in the land." "Oh," says Bellamy, in a letter designed to warn the public against these errors, "Oh, that this were indeed the case! Oh, that our fears were quite groundless.

How soon would I believe it, if you could help me to see just reason for it. But how would the party through New-England, laugh at our credulity in Connecticut, if their friends among us could make us believe all to be safe till they could carry their points here, as they have elsewhere."

In one respect however, a *portion* of the Unitarians of that period "were more noble than those in" one of our principal commonwealths in later times; who might have remained to this hour, without a public avowal of their principles, and thus have more extensively insinuated their principles, had it not been for the luckless indiscretion of Belsham, one of their English oracles. In the above-mentioned mutilated Catechism published, as it would seem, at the united instance of Arminians and Unitarians, one of the articles "entirely left out," was the great doctrine of the Trinity. Thus honestly did they give the public to understand that *they* were not Trinitarians. And yet the merit of this openness was destroyed by their effrontery. For, in the spirit of insulting defiance, they inform the world, in the preface to their "Improved" Catechism, that "the snarling party of bigots will be little regarded." How exactly this contemptuous language accords with much of the phraseology, so flippantly employed by not a few of their successors at the present day, we will not stop to show. *Qui legit, intelligat.* Nor was the frankness which we have commended, confined wholly to the authors of that mutilated publication. "Come from New-Hampshire along to Boston," says Dr. Bellamy, "and see there a celebrated D. D. the head of a large party! He boldly *ridicules* the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and denies the doctrine of justification by faith alone, in the sight of all the country, in his book of sermons." The gentleman probably alluded to, afterwards declared himself a Universalist; and in two of his publications now lying before us, we find the unmeasured effusions of his enmity to the almost unparalleled work of grace in the days of our fathers. Unitarianism and Universalism, and bitter hostility to revivals, are not a very unnatural, nor a very uncommon confederacy.

The third class of erroneous doctrines which corrupted and rent many of the churches at this period, were of an Antinomian complexion. Soon after the establishment of the first churches in the colony of Massachusetts, various tenets of this class were broached, and urged with a positiveness and violence which threatened the extinction of religion from the land. They were of a nature so alarming, as to call for the meeting of a Synod at Cambridge, in the year 1637; by which body *eighty-two* errors were examined, and with exemplary firmness and meekness, condemned. The venerable Mr. Cotton, whom Dr. Mather with his usual quaintness styles "not the least part of the country,"

was in some degree infected with them. At any rate, he thought so highly of the piety of those who had espoused them, as to be placed by public opinion among the delinquents. And much had it redounded to the honor of that synod, if they had manifested as much temper in dealing with him, as they had just shown in examining and censuring the errors of the sect. At length however after much debate and explanation, the synod and Mr. Cotton happily came to a compromise, to the great grief of the Antinomians; who, misinterpreting his qualified approbation of some of their positions, and his charitable regard for them as christians, notwithstanding their other errors, had proudly claimed him as their champion.

Antinomian principles were first introduced at Boston by Ann Hutchinson, and though repressed by the synod just mentioned, they were at different times afterwards revived to a greater or less extent; till the adversary of truth, taking advantage of the remarkable religious excitement in 1740, gave them a wider spread and a more disastrous influence than they ever had in this country, before or since that memorable period.

Of the many errors belonging to the Antinomian scheme, as it then existed, our limits will allow us to specify only the following: That to be a christian, a person must *know* the fact of his regeneration, and the precise time of its occurrence;—that great joy is a certain evidence of conversion;—that christians are known to each other less by practical godliness, than by inward feeling;—that sanctification is not to be regarded as an evidence of justification;—that “assurance of God’s love” is a necessary qualification for church-membership;—that bodily agitations, and even outcries in the time of public worship, together with what were called “lively impressions of an outward Christ,” whether seen enthroned in heaven or bleeding on a cross, are important indications of a regenerated heart;—that in *every* passage of scripture there is a *spiritual* meaning, which cannot be understood without a special revelation to the soul by the Spirit of God;—that vital piety in all its members, is essential to the being of a true church of Christ;—that christians love God not so much in view of his infinite moral excellence, as from an apprehension that he loves them;—that saving faith is the belief which an individual has that Christ died for him in particular, which proposition becomes true only by being believed;—that assurance belongs to the essence of faith; and in a word, that christians are released from obligation to the moral law, being placed under the milder law of the gospel. This last was the original source whence flowed, directly or indirectly, nearly every other error belonging to this selfish, preposterous, destructive system.

No wonder that a scheme like this, embraced as it was by great

numbers, should have distracted the churches, marred the work of God, and awakened all the energies of the friends of the revival to oppose it. It should be observed however, that most of the churches, and all the regular ministers in Connecticut, were uncontaminated by it, and labored to counteract its influence; some indeed with feelings of hostility to the revival, as the supposed parent of these opinions; and others with the deepest grief that a work so manifestly produced by the Holy Spirit, should be accompanied by the prevalence of sentiments, so pre-eminently fitted to ensnare and ruin the soul.

But there were certain ecclesiastical usages which had been of long standing, and which at this period were causes of much alienation and contention. Two of them shall be specified. One was the injudicious and unscriptural practice of admitting into the church any persons not outwardly vicious, upon merely a public assent to the cardinal truths of revelation, without allowing them to partake of the Lord's supper. The covenant into which the candidates entered with God and the church, was called, in the language of the times, "the half-way covenant;" and the responsibilities of this partial membership were assumed, that they might procure baptism for their children. As to the manner in which their children could be benefited by baptism administered on such grounds, there was much difference of opinion. Some, directly in opposition to their declared belief of the entire corruption of human nature, spoke of initial grace as producing a sort of incipient faith in the unsanctified professor of religion; which, it was thought, might somehow serve as a medium for the conveyance of spiritual benefits to the baptized infant. Some supposed, that moral sincerity in the parents was all that could be expected of them, till the Lord should renew their hearts; and therefore that this was a sufficient ground on which to expect advantage to the child from the ordinance. Others, and indeed the common people generally, abstaining from all speculation on the subject, unconsciously took sides with the Papists, and relied wholly on the *opus operatum*; believing that baptism itself, on whatever grounds administered, possessed a certain mysterious intrinsic efficacy.

"The half-way practice" was first introduced by a synod which assembled in Boston in the year 1662. The principal reason which governed that venerable, but in this instance, mistaken body, was, that as the children were mostly growing up in an unsanctified state, some measure must be taken to diffuse more widely the privilege of baptism, or the church itself, now fast diminishing, must, in their view, soon become extinct. Accordingly, they recommended the unscriptural expedient under consideration; for the children thus baptized, were considered as

actual members of the church, and if irreproachable in their external deportment, were admitted, at a certain age, to the Lord's table.

The synod however were far from being unanimous. The point was powerfully debated before the decision, and for more than a century afterwards; and of the churches, some accorded with the recommendation of the synod, and others refused compliance. This difference of practice ceased not to be the prolific parent of alienation and controversy, till within a few years past. It was not however introduced into Connecticut till the year 1696; and it never obtained universally in this or any other State.

It is remarkable that the covenant entered into by members in full, and by those who were members only in part, was *the same*, although styled "the half-way covenant" when its obligations were assumed by the latter. Both classes of professors alike promised to walk faithfully, in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord. But "among these ordinances," Dr. Dwight observes, "one of high import is the Lord's Supper. Yet it was the professed intention of the candidate, at this very time, not to attend upon that ordinance. In addition to this, it was his declared apprehension, that at the very time of making his profession he was not a christian, and therefore was not at all disposed to walk in any of the commandments or ordinances of Christ. Glaring as this contradiction was, both ministers and people contended for it with eagerness."

The other usage to which we have referred, was of still earlier origin, and scarcely less disastrous in its effects. We mean the admission of persons to full communion in the church, without requiring of them any relation of their motives or religious experience. In many instances, no inquiry was made to ascertain either their doctrinal or experimental acquaintance with religion. If, being unexceptionable in their outward conduct, they desired admission into the church, they were readily received, upon publicly assenting to the confession of faith. The church in Salem, the oldest in the colony of Massachusetts, countenanced this practice; leaving it to the option of the candidate, to give an account of his views and experience orally or in writing; to answer such interrogatories as might be proposed; or simply to express his accordance with the confession and covenant. "This" says Dr. Mather, "was perhaps more *beautiful* than would have been a more punctilious uniformity." The only beauty we can discover in it, is that of the whited sepulchre—deception without and pollution within. This practice prevailed more or less till the period under review; nor even then was it wholly discontinued. For in 1736, after the fruits of the first revival under the ministry of Edwards, were received into the church, he says, "It

is not the custom here, as it is in many other churches in this country, to make a credible relation of their inward experiences, the ground of their admission to the Lord's supper." Nor did the third church in Windham in Connecticut, follow that custom, as appears from a pamphlet before us, published in 1747. It contains twelve charges against the church exhibited by several of its members, as reasons of their separation from it, and also the answers of the church to those charges. One of the allegations is that, "They receive members into the church without giving personal satisfaction to the church that they are true members of Christ, by declaring what God hath done for their souls." The reply gave no satisfaction to the aggrieved brethren; and indeed ought to have given none, for the practice complained of is incapable of justification. It was one of the many subjects of controversy that caused discord among brethren throughout New-England; and though at this period, the evil was considerably diminished, it was not wholly removed by the most powerful reasonings of the ablest divines of the day.

We proceed to a hasty sketch of the third class of evils which characterized these times.

Doctrinal errors are often, if not generally, associated with more or less practical delinquency. The relation between them, is that of cause and effect. This was the case during the great revival, and for many years afterwards; and the disorders chargeable on one considerable portion of the community, were much increased by the ecclesiastical grievances which have been mentioned. Both the Arminians and the disguised Arians, who violently opposed that work of grace, as well as the Antinomians whose efforts to promote it were irregular and extravagant, disfigured its character and hindered its progress, by their intemperate proceedings. We take no pleasure in disclosing the disorders to which we allude; and would pass over them in silence, were it not that the summary recital which we contemplate, may afford a salutary lesson to the churches at the present day.

The revival at its commencement was opposed by the majority of the people; for although the acknowledged followers of Whitby did not constitute a large proportion of the population, yet, in their aversion to that extraordinary work of grace, and in their efforts to stifle it, they received the countenance of more than half the residue of the community. The bulk of the pastors and churches, though they professed to adhere to the public confession of faith, which had been in use almost half a century, had become cold in heart and lax in sentiment, and therefore yielded but a reluctant and qualified assent to some of its most humbling truths. Thus they were prepared to co-operate with those who avowedly belonged to the Arminian school. In giving an account of the

misconduct of the latter, we must therefore, blend with them as associates that numerous class, who had already begun to denominate their scheme of doctrines "Moderate Calvinism."

Thus the adherents of Whitby, abetted by that large body of pastors and people who had degenerated from the orthodoxy of their ancestors, were violent in their outcries against the revival and its friends. Every species of misrepresentation and calumny was employed to bring disgrace upon the work itself, and upon all who favored it. "By some," says Dr. Trumbull, "it was termed a distemper, which affected the mind and filled it with unnecessary concern and gloominess; by others it was termed the work of the devil; by others Quakerism, enthusiasm, Antinomianism, and distraction. The zealous experimental christians, were termed *new lights*, following an *ignis fatuus*, which would lead them to destruction." Indeed the same language of scurrility and even of blasphemy was extensively used, which is occasionally employed in these days by the most abandoned of our race, to asperse good men, and genuine revivals of religion. They saw no distinction, and by the ablest divines could be made to see none, between such a work of God's Spirit, and the extravagances which sometimes unfortunately attend it. Hence they identified with it all the wildness and irregularities of those who were chargeable with fanaticism; and of this description there were not a few.

For several years the great body of magistrates, and other leading men in Connecticut, took an open stand against the revival; and to put an end to it, if possible, the legislature repealed some former laws of a tolerant, and enacted others of a persecuting, nature. Thus in 1742 it was enacted that if a settled minister preached in a parish not his own, without being invited both by the minister, if there was one, and by the *majority* of the church and society in said parish, his own people should withhold his stipulated salary for that year. A law was passed also, that no civil officer should sign a warrant for the collection of a minister's annual stipend, without a writing from the clerk of the society, certifying that no information had been lodged against the pastor for preaching, without invitation, in other parishes. Moreover it was enacted, that if an unordained minister preached in any parish without such a formal request, he should be bound over to the next county court in the sum of one hundred pounds; and that if any minister belonging to another colony, preached or exhorted under such circumstances in any parish, he should by a civil warrant be transported out of Connecticut as a *vagrant*.

These cruel laws were designed to bear upon some of the most intelligent and pious ministers in the land; who, to promote that glorious revival, traveled great distances and gratuitously be-

stowed their labors wherever there was a particular call for them. Several of those men of God were actually persecuted under these oppressive laws. Some were arraigned before the county courts, and some before the General Assembly. Some were transported out of the colony; some were deprived of their salary; and all, whether conforming to the laws or not, had reason to fear the loss of their stipulated support; for their enemies had only to lodge with the clerks of their respective parishes an information against them, however false it might be, and then the laws forbade the collection of their salary.

Many of the lay preachers and exhorters among the Separatists, growing more zealous and bold under the hardships imposed on them, refused to give the required bonds not to repeat their alledged offenses; and, continuing to hold forth when and where they pleased, were cast into prison.

Although the duty we have assigned to ourselves is concerned rather with facts, than with the reflections they might suggest, we cannot but remark, that the practice condemned by the legislature was as susceptible of vindication, as that of the Reformers, whose itinerant preaching was a powerful engine against the Papacy; or as that of the Puritans, many of whom, in the face of the unrighteous enactments of parliament, continued to preach in any diocese or parish, where hearers could be found. The legislature, however, bent on the extinction of the prevailing religious excitement, may be allowed a degree of credit on the score of their impartiality; for in the year following, they proceeded to exclude from *civil* offices all such persons as appeared in favor of the cause or the measures of those, who were now generally known by the appellation of "*new lights*."

It would greatly abate the regret we feel in view of the disorders of those times, could we exempt all the clergy from a share of the blame, attached to proceedings, so contrary to the spirit of the gospel. But it is an undeniable truth, that the persecuting laws of which we have spoken, owed their existence as much to the direct influence of a considerable number of the pastors, as to the personal prejudice and enmity of the legislature. And while one district association passed a formal vote of thanks to the General Assembly for these unrighteous enactments, most of the clerical opposers of the revival spoke of them with approbation, and vindicated the execution of them.

In several instances ministers proceeded, on their own authority, to suspend members of their churches from communion, merely for hearing the preachers who were zealous in their labors to advance the work of grace. Some were thus debarred access to the Lord's supper ten or twelve years, till other pastors succeeded those, by whom they had been excluded. Frequently too, hosti-

tility to the awakening led clergymen to press and effect the settlement of pastors against the wishes and remonstrances of large minorities, and in some instances against the desires of the major part of voters in the churches; thus violating the ecclesiastical constitution, as well as the spirit of the gospel. Nor was the situation of evangelical ministers already settled, secure. In several instances their pastoral relation to their flocks was dissolved, in consequence of the animosity and management of their brethren. The proceedings of the association just alluded to, were extremely violent and oppressive. For an expression which, in times of less irritability, could hardly be considered as indiscreet, they effected the dismissal of one of their best members from his people. He lamented the language which he had used, and offered a suitable confession of its impropriety; but they rejected it, and boasted, soon after his dismissal, "that they had blown out one new light, and that they would blow them all out." Nor were they long in putting this menace into execution, so far as to suspend from associational communion four of their other members; *two* because they had assisted in settling an evangelical minister over a people who had adopted the Cambridge Platform, in preference to that which had been generally received in the colony; *one* because he had delivered a sermon to a baptist congregation, and the *other* because he had committed both of these alledged offenses. Thus the association having finished the work of expurgation, by suspending such of its members as were active in promoting the revival, were the better prepared to prosecute other unkind, not to say unchristian, measures which our limits will not allow us to recount.

The general association of Connecticut, composed as it was for many years, of members the majority of whom were inveterately hostile to the revival, (chiefly we believe on account of the irregularities that attended it,) fixed the eye of suspicion on its friends; encouraged the dissatisfaction and clamors of all who were displeased with their pastors for laboring to advance it; and urgently advised the ministers in the colony to refuse Mr. Whitfield the use of their pulpits, at the same time cautioning the people against hearing him, if he should preach. It is believed, that the ministers who rejoiced in that work of grace, did not become a majority in Connecticut, till twelve or fifteen years after its commencement. And no sooner did they become so numerous as to have any considerable influence in the general association, than those of the opposite party very generally refused to attend the sessions of that body. In 1749, it was composed of only four members; and at two successive meetings the members who attended were so few, that no business was transacted.

As was to have been expected in such a time of religious dis-

sention, the press was extensively employed both to censure and defend the opinions and practices of those who espoused opposite sides. In the writings of the evangelical divines, while we observe little that bespeaks a want of christian meekness and kindness, we perceive much that indicates enlightened views of truth, purity of motive, and devoted attachment to the welfare of souls, in spite of derision, and obloquy, and even civil disabilities. We wish we were authorized to bestow a similar eulogy on the writings of those who took a hostile stand against them. But in general, the same uncharitableness, misrepresentation, and virulence that characterized their other proceedings, were displayed in their publications. In one respect the task of some of them was difficult. Professing, as a portion of them did, to believe in the necessity of a special divine influence, to awaken and renew the sinner, and in the fact that the existing excitement was connected with some instances of real conversion, it was hard for them to speak of the prevalent work of God, at all times, in terms accordant with their occasional language of censure or contempt. Even Dr. Chauncey, the ablest and not the least bitter opposer of the "*new lights*," sometimes speaks favorably of certain things pertaining to a general work of the spirit, which on other occasions, he loads with reproach. It is remarkable that in his celebrated book against Whitfield and his associates in New-England, he mentions as evidences of such a work, those very things which were undeniably among the most conspicuous fruits of that glorious revival, which his whole volume was designed to disparage and exterminate. But the great body of the writers under consideration, were uniformly consistent in their reproachful publications.

It is not wonderful that such general opposition, when found to be unsuccessful, should have led many to seek a kind of revenge, in breaking loose from their ecclesiastical relations, and attaching themselves to some other denomination more congenial with them in sentiment, as regarded doctrine and religious fervor. They could not, however, consistently unite with the Baptists, who were generally as far from Arminianism, as the new lights themselves; and they abhorred the Separatists and their churches. The only alternative was to remain as they were, while the objects of their aversion were fast becoming a majority in Connecticut, or to join themselves to the Episcopalians, who, though their number was hitherto very inconsiderable, were equally opposed to Calvinism, and not less so to the extraordinary attention to religion. Multitudes, therefore, preferred the latter course; and by this means the few Episcopal churches then established, were in a few years considerably enlarged, and others were organized. We know not that history has ever recorded the fact, but we have unquestionable authority for the statement, that in one town

the awakening had but just commenced, when eleven-sixteenths of the lawful voters of the parish, raised an outcry against "night meetings," "religious stirs," etc. and in an angry mood conformed to the church of England, took exclusive possession of the meeting-house, and thus forced the feeble minority to encounter the hardship of rearing another place of worship for themselves and their children.

But we must present a brief outline of the exceptionable conduct of numbers, who, while they hailed the revival as the work of God, did much to bring it into disrepute.

Their doctrinal system derived its general complexion from antinomianism. Made up as it was of some fundamental truths, and not a few dangerous errors collected from different sources, as ignorance and misguided feeling prompted, their doctrinal scheme as a whole countenanced enthusiasm, and led to much extravagance of language and conduct. Some of their leading opinions have been already noticed. Influenced by those, together with others scarcely less fanciful and wild, their proceedings were often eccentric, rash, and subversive both of civil and religious order.

They railed against nearly all the ministers in the colony, whether friendly or hostile to the revival, calling them legalists, hypocrites, and hirelings; and therefore encouraged laymen to exhort, preach, and perform the various other offices pertaining to the christian ministry. They strenuously advocated lay ordination; and proceeded, in several instances, to invest their own ignorant exhorters who stood pre-eminent in zeal and effrontery, with the sacred office by prayer and the imposition of hands. Their meetings were excessively frequent, and were generally protracted to a late hour; thus deranging, if not their secular affairs, at least the religious order of their respective families. Indeed, many justified the entire omission of both family and secret prayer, by pleading the superior importance of more public devotion. Besides, their religious meetings were commonly scenes of disorder and tumult. The zeal of the exhorters elevated their voices to the pitch of vociferation, producing at the same time violent gesticulations, and frightful contortions of the countenance. The effect of these irregularities, in connection with the crude sentiments which were advanced, was frequently tremendous. The raptures of the supposed convert, and the agony of the agitated sinner, were equally irrational and frantic. In the midst of their worship, some shouted for joy, and others cried aloud for mercy. Some exulted and laughed, from a confident impression that their peace was made with God; others sobbed and groaned in almost total despair of relief. Many quaked from an involuntary agitation of the nerves; some fell into what they called a trance, and others swooned

and lay senseless on the floor. The excitement of multitudes was so high when going to a meeting, and especially when returning, that the streets resounded with their singing and outcries. And what was worse, they justified these irregularities, strove to promote them, construed them into certain signs of divine influence on the heart, and denied the piety of all who endeavored to repress such extravagances. In prayer, besides their shockingly irreverent familiarity with the Almighty, they not unfrequently trampled on the duty by mentioning individual persons and interceding for them by name, as opposers of the good work, full of prejudice, hard-hearted and nigh unto cursing. Sometimes the character and conduct of certain men were minutely described; and thus their addresses to God were but the instruments of disclosing and gratifying their own personal resentment. Some went even beyond this, and publicly prayed that God would either convert certain persons expressly named, or cut them off and send them to destruction, before they should corrupt others and contract more guilt themselves.

They said much about the prayer of faith, and from some peculiar impressions on their mind while praying for others, they often declared with great confidence, whether a given individual would, or would not, be eventually converted and saved. As a general truth, it was impossible to reason with them in regard to their principles and proceedings; and whoever labored to show them their errors, mild and affectionate as his manner might be, was little less than sure to incur reproach, and be denounced as a formalist or a hypocrite. They seem to have settled it as a first principle, that themselves were right, and every body else necessarily wrong. But the subject, though far from being exhausted, is too painful to be pursued to a much greater extent. One mischievous step of theirs, however,—the legitimate result of their enthusiastic and uncompromising spirit,—must not be omitted. We refer to their violent separation from the churches and societies to which they had belonged. Bitterly opposed to their pastors and brethren, and cherishing the confident persuasion that they were led by the Spirit of God in all their extravagances of faith and practice, it is manifest that they were ill prepared to remain where they were, and hold christian fellowship with those who could not but regard them as deluded fanatics. Accordingly they withdrew in great numbers, claimed to be more holy than others, and established churches of their own. And as there was no minister in this colony who countenanced their distinctive principles or practical extravagances, they could not obtain ordination for their exhorters. They proceeded, therefore, to select from among themselves such persons as were most zealous and fluent, and to constitute them spiritual teachers by lay ordination. In the choice of these individuals, as

well as in regard to many other things, not a few professed to be directed by special revelation from heaven. The revelation, however, with which they claimed to be favored, was of a species from which they often found it necessary to withdraw their confidence. Thus, in a certain town, the Separatists affirmed it to be revealed to them from above, that a particular man was to become their pastor ; but "in less than one year they chose, ordained, silenced, cast him out of the church, and delivered him up to Satan."

It should be observed that these misguided people were comparatively, a very inconsiderable body. They established in all but about a dozen churches: the most of which were exceedingly small and in a few years became extinct. That many of them were truly pious cannot be reasonably doubted. And not a few of them, after their animal fervor had spent itself, listened to the instructions and arguments of the orthodox, renounced their more exceptionable tenets, became regular in their deportment, and, though they did not in many instances return to the bosom of the churches from which they had seceded, treated them with a good degree of christian courtesy and kindness. Scarcely a vestige of their churches now remains in the State.

The principles and practices both of the Arminians and Separatists, are incapable of justification, and yet they admit of a limited apology. The revival was a new scene to them ; and considering how deficient their instructions from the pulpit had generally been, in regard both to doctrinal and experimental religion, it is not strange that the former class should, from the first, look upon that wonderful work with suspicion ; nor that the latter, equally ignorant of the real nature of such a revival, but powerfully impressed, should ascribe all that they felt, directly to a divine influence. It was to have been expected, that men in such opposite states of feeling, would entertain different opinions of that work of grace ; and that while one portion of them opposed it, the other, not knowing the difference between great animal excitement and holy emotion, would in their zeal, mar it by many imprudences. If some few of those with whose writings the opposers of the work were chiefly conversant, believed in the special outpouring of the Spirit, they were confused and sometimes contradictory, in their representations concerning it. Under the direction of such authors,—we allude to the best of the kind,—they were but too liable, independent of any positive aversion to religion itself, to form an unfavorable opinion of the scene before them, and to impute the misconduct of the fanatics to the revival, rather than to the unresisted promptings of excited imagination. In behalf of those enthusiasts also, it may be said, that they were nearly all persons of uncultivated minds. Not only had they not been well instructed in religion, but their literary education was grossly defi-

cient, and some of them could neither read nor write. That such people under very strong impressions in regard to a subject so infinitely momentous, as the alternative of endless happiness or everlasting destruction, should betray their solicitude by involuntary sighs and groans, and that upon finding relief in either real or supposed conversion, they should be filled with rapture bordering on frenzy, is a phenomenon neither inexplicable, nor very uncommon. Mr. Fuller, speaking of the Antinomian system, observes that "it has been embraced not so much by the learned, as by the illiterate part of professing christians;" and adds, that "it is especially calculated for the vulgar meridian." Had those bewildered people possessed considerable general information, and above all, had they been favored with competent doctrinal knowledge, these advantages would unquestionably have formed such a counterpoise to their highly excited feelings, as to have prevented most of their hurtful aberrations. Besides, they were to some extent literally persecuted; and this, by producing exasperation, tended to urge them on to greater irregularities. While Episcopalians and Quakers were fully tolerated, the laws withheld the same indulgence from them. Their doctrinal system, although it contained many fundamental truths of the gospel, was ridiculed and condemned in the gross; and many of their practices, adopted no doubt with honest but mistaken views, were termed oddities, and then contemptuously laughed at; or considered as fatal to the soul, and then branded with the most odious epithets. All this was calculated to exasperate their feelings, and had its influence, no doubt, in propelling them onward to further degrees of mental and practical obliquity. Nor must it be forgotten that very many of the churches, however quickened and refreshed by the Spirit of God, gave them no little reason for dissatisfaction, by continuing to practice upon the "half-way covenant," and to admit members without requiring an account of their religious experience.

We plead thus in behalf of both these classes, not because we regard them as innocent, but that the palliating circumstances of their case may not be entirely overlooked by the present generation of the orthodox, whose more consistent doctrinal views, and eligible external situation, might otherwise dispose them to pass too severe a sentence upon their ancestors. They could not indeed have been innocent; the one class in violently opposing, and the other in marring, and hastening to a close, a revival in which it has been computed, that within the period of little more than two years, more than *thirty thousand* souls were brought to a saving knowledge of Christ in New-England, besides many thousands in New-Jersey and other southern colonies. In our next number we shall call the attention of our readers to the writings of Dr. Bellamy, which were principally directed against the errors in doctrine and practice, which we have here detailed.

ART. X.—INQUIRIES RESPECTING THE DOCTRINE OF IMPUTATION.

Prof. Stuart

TO THE EDITORS OF THE QUARTERLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

GENTLEMEN.—In the Biblical Repertory for Jan. 1830, I have read an essay entitled, *Early History of Pelagianism*. Who the author of it is, I know not; but I beg leave through the medium of your work, to submit a few inquiries and difficulties which I have, in respect to some statements which he has made.

After stating on page 92, that some “who would be esteemed orthodox, and Calvinistic too,” consider it so absurd to hold the doctrine of the imputation of Adam’s sin to his posterity, that they will “not even condescend to argue the point,” the historian goes on to say that “all theologians from the days of Augustine, who were not *acknowledged heretics*, believed firmly in this doctrine.”

I would beg leave to ask is this true? Is it true, that *all* theologians since the days of Augustine, who were not “*acknowledged heretics*,” have firmly believed in the doctrine of imputation, as held by Augustine, or the writer of the history in question? Or are the statements to the contrary, in Hahn’s admirable system of theology, recently published, and so replete with select historical notices which testify most honorably to the diligence, accuracy, and widely extended research of the author, are these statements to be relied on, which are accompanied with copious extracts, and with references to chapter and verse; or are we rather to credit the declaration of the historian, unaccompanied by either? I have been accustomed to believe, after a somewhat extended and painful investigation, that between the time of Augustine and the reformation, there were very many theologians, who did not believe in Augustine’s view of imputation, and who yet were not “*acknowledged heretics*.” Am I in an error here? And is Dr. Hahn wandering in the like darkness?

The historian proceeds. “Now we confess ourselves to be of the number of those who believe, whatever reproach it may bring upon us from a *certain quarter*, that if the doctrine of imputation be given up, the whole doctrine of original sin must be abandoned. And if this doctrine be relinquished, then the *whole* doctrine of redemption must fall; and what may then be left of christianity, they may contend for that will; but for ourselves, we shall be of opinion, that what remains will not be worth a serious struggle.” pp. 92, 93.

Here then permit me to inquire? Have men no sins of *their own*, from which they need to be redeemed? Or is it true, as the historian’s position seems plainly to imply, that the whole object of

Christ's death was, to redeem men from a sin which is *not their own*? And is this sin then, which (to use the writer's own words) is not "strictly and properly *theirs*, for those not yet born could not perform an act;" (p. 90.) is this sin so much greater than all the sins that men have *themselves* committed, in their own persons, that the death of Christ, or the redemption wrought by him, is not even to be named as having respect to these transgressions, and nothing of christianity is left, unless you assume the position that redeeming blood is designed simply to expiate *original* sin? Can any one inform me to what age this "orthodoxy" belongs; and where the history of it is to be found among the fathers, whose authority is so much relied on by this historian? Will any one show how it agrees with the declaration of Paul in Rom. v. 16, where he asserts, that the condemnation which came upon men was through Adam, on account of *one* offense, viz. his eating the forbidden fruit; but the free gift was of *many* offenses? What were these *many*? If atoning blood only washes away *original* sin, how does grace *superabound* above the mischief done by Adam? Rom, v. 20, comp. v. 17.

Again on p. 94, the following declaration occurs in the early history in question. "It was left for modern critics to discover, that David (in Ps. li. 5, *conceived in sin and born in iniquity*,) was here bewailing the sinfulness of his mother; such an idea never seems to have entered the mind of any of the ancient commentators."

How is it then, that the writer of this very sentence produces Jerome, on p. 97, as contradicting this idea, "David says, I was conceived in sin etc., not in the iniquity of his mother, nor of his own personal sin, but in the sin of human nature?" Did Jerome then, undertake to contradict that of which "an idea never entered his mind." And did the idea never enter the minds of those interpreters whom he thus contradicted?

But I have some other inquiries to make respecting the historian's statements. For the present, I neither affirm nor deny the doctrine of imputation. But I frankly confess that I have difficulties—difficulties originating not from philosophy or a heretical *penchant*, but from scripture, and from the first principles of moral consciousness. The writer in question holds, that the sin of Adam was imputed to all his posterity, to their guilt, condemnation, and ruin, without any act on their part, p. 90. Of course, then, from the moment they began to exist, that moment they were involved in this imputation. This he does most expressly affirm, by adopting, on page 94, the statement of "ancient commentators" that David "contracted pollution in his *conception*." But how does this agree with the declaration of Paul in Rom. ix. 11, who says, concerning Jacob and Esau, long after their "conception" and when advanced to such maturity as to struggle in the womb, (Gen.

xxv. 22,) "The children being not yet born, *neither having done ANY THING good or evil*, (*οὐκ ἔχοντες ἢ κακόν*) that the purpose etc." Paul here argues to prove the doctrine of *election*, from the fact, that God could not have had any reference to the moral merit or demerit of these children, inasmuch as *there was none*. On the ground of the writer in question, was this true? If so, I should be gratified to learn *how* it is true.

Again, Paul seems to declare that *a knowledge of law and duty, is necessary in order that sin should exist*. Thus, Rom. v. 13, "sin is not imputed when there is no law." But the historian represents sin as imputed, in that very condition or state in which there is none. It is imputed, before *any knowledge whatever* can be supposed to exist. Now, as the phrase, "when there is no law," most plainly means, 'when there is no *knowledge* of any law,' I find it impossible to conceive how the statements of the historian and the apostle, can both stand.

Again; Rom. iv. 15, "Where no law is, there is no transgression." But how can this be, where there is not only *original sin* prior to all knowledge of law, but original sin so great as to absorb the whole of the redemption of Christ; so that the redemption is annulled, if we consider it as expiating the guilt of actual violations of known law, and there is nothing left in the gospel worth contending for. p. 93.

Once more; in James iv. 17, it is said, "to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." Is it then sin, when one knows *not* to do good, and does it not? I refer of course to a want of knowledge which is *involuntary* and *unavoidable*; for it is only such a case that can be made a question of.

When Jesus, in John ix. 41, says to the Pharisees, "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin;" does not he most clearly recognize the principle, that the sins of men must be what is done when they have light, and in a voluntary manner?

When John 1st Epistle iii. 4, defines sin to be a "transgression of the law;" does not this, especially when compared with the texts just cited, suppose some knowledge of the law transgressed? And moreover, is this a transgression by *one's self*, or by what *another* has done? This last question leads to some others. Is it a *scripture* doctrine, that the guilt of others is imputed to men as their own? And if so, then how is the following declaration to be construed, viz. "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him, Ezk. xviii. 20? And again, Ez. xvi. 3, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die?"

I ask also, whether the first principles of moral consciousness do not decide, that sin, in its proper sense, is the result of what

we have done ourselves; not of what others have done for us, without our knowledge and consent? I ask, in what part of the bible we are called upon to repent of Adam's sin? And finally, whether the historian would honestly say, with all his attachment to the opinions of the fathers, that he has ever so appropriated Adam's sin to himself, as truly to recognize it as his own, and to repent of it as such?

I ask finally, when the writer congratulates himself on the "comfort of being supported by the ancients" in his opinions; and likewise "by all the moderns, whose opinions have any weight," (p. 94.) whether the man who believes that the Logos is a derived and dependent being; who believes that the apostate angels, had carnal intercourse with the antedeluvian women, and begat the giants mentioned in Gen. vi. 1—4; who believes that water baptism is essential to salvation; who holds that the *satisfaction* made by the death of Christ, was made to the devil, in order to take away his *right* over men; who maintains that the Logos was in the place of a human soul in Christ; and many other things of the like nature; may not likewise congratulate himself, (and with as much reason too as the historian,) that he is supported by the "opinion of the ancients?" I ask also, why he has omitted to quote the opinion of the ancients *before* the time of Augustine? Why has he omitted the Alexandrian school? Why has he not cited Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and generally those of the Greek church?

Last of all, I would particularly request, if any writer should favor me with an answer to these inquiries, that *reasons*, and not *names*, may be given in support of his statements. If it be suggested that none but a heretic could ask such questions, I would reply, that there are minds in our country which are not satisfied that calling hard names is argument; or that the *argumentum ad invidiam* is the happiest weapon which a meek and humble christian can use. Men are very apt to suspect, that such arguments would not be employed, if better ones were at hand in their stead. I only add that I am A PROTESTANT.

We have inserted the above communication at the particular request of a respected correspondent, whose familiarity with the subject entitles his inquiries to a serious consideration.

We cannot but think, however, that the question respecting the imputation of Adam's sin to his descendants, has become, in this country at least, chiefly a dispute about words. The historian, if we understand his statements, has abandoned the ground of Edwards and other standard writers, on this subject. He states unequivocally, that Adam's "first act of transgression" was "not *strictly* and *properly* that of his descendants, (for those not yet

born could not perform an act) but interpretatively or by imputation." p. 90. Now Edwards affirms the direct contrary. "The sin of the apostasy is not theirs merely because God imputes it to them, but it is *truly* and *properly* theirs, and on *that* ground God imputes it to them." Orig. Sin, p. 4, chap. 3. Stapfer too, lays down the doctrine of imputation in the same manner. "God in imputing this sin (Adam's) *finds* this whole moral person (the human race) *ALREADY* a sinner, and *not* merely constitutes it such." Theol. pol. cap. xvi. §. 63. The Westminster divines also say, "all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation sinned *IN* him, and fell with him, in that *first* transgression." Now the historian very justly and properly rejects such philosophy. Adam's first act of transgression was not *strictly* and *properly* that of his descendants, says the historian. The sin of the apostasy is truly and properly theirs, say Edwards and the rest. It is theirs, says the historian, only as it is "*considered*" or "*reckoned*" theirs, interpretatively or by imputation. No, says Edwards, it is so "*considered*" or "*reckoned*" because it *is* truly and properly theirs, and "*is not* theirs merely because God imputed it to them." No one who does not totally confound all notions of personal identity, can hesitate to admit, that the historian has done right in rejecting the old statements on this subject.

We are glad likewise to see him proceed one step farther. He not only denies that we had any share in the *act*, but even in the *guilt* of Adam's first sin, in the ordinary acceptance of that term. He tells us, "that the ill-desert of one man cannot be transferred to another"—that "imputation does not imply a transfer of moral acts or *moral character*, but the *opposite* of REMISSION." To impute, according to this explanation of the term, is simply to *hold* the descendants of Adam *SUBJECT* to the "*consequences*" of his fall, though not sharing in the act or in its criminality. Accordingly, the historian states, that the word *reatus* or *guilt* "as used by theologians," denotes merely this *liability* or *subjection* of our whole race, to those "*consequences*" which Adam brought upon himself personally by his fall. In other words, that Adam was not on trial for himself alone, but that by a divine constitution, all his descendants were to have, in their natural state, the same character and condition with their progenitor—that the universality and certainty of sin, therefore, are not the result of imitation or accidental circumstances, but of a divine constitution. This constitution he would undoubtedly admit, however, does not destroy free agency, or impose any fatal necessity of sinning, upon any of our race.

Now, in this statement, all who bear the name of Calvinists will unite; and they all regard it as exhibiting a cardinal doctrine of the gospel. And we cannot but think that most of the disputes on this subject, result simply from a diversity in the use of terms.

The historian insists on retaining the term *imputation*, while he gives up our oneness with Adam both in action and ill-desert. And if by imputation is meant simply, that we are *subjected* to the "consequences" of Adam's sin, all Calvinists maintain the doctrine. He insists too on saying, that the *guilt* of Adam's first sin, has come upon us. But then he uses this term in a peculiar sense. "Guilt," says Dr. Webster, "implies *both* criminality and liability to punishment." The historian in this case, excludes the former. But Edwards certainly used the term as Webster defines it. Calvin lays down the *general* proposition, that, "there could not be guilt without criminality," non esset reatus absque culpa. Inst. L. ii. c. i. § 8. Nor was he speaking of criminality in Adam, but in the *subject* of the guilt. Augustine, too, in the very passage quoted by the historian, says men "are involved in *guilt*, and on *this* account are held liable to punishment." Surely he did not mean to say, that *because* men are liable to punishment, (reatu implicatos,) *therefore*, they are liable to punishment." By *reatus*, then, he meant more than "liability to punishment," he included in it, "*ill-desert*." The historian's sense of the term "guilt," is, therefore, not only opposed to ordinary English usage, but we think also to the usage of the "ancients," and to the doctrine which they meant to teach. At the present day certainly, it is an unfortunate term, if it means only, that men are *subjected* to sin and suffering, in consequence of Adam's transgression. The word *punishment* too has a peculiar sense, in the vocabulary of the historian. Native depravity he considers as a "punishment" inflicted upon us for the sin of Adam. Now Dr. Webster defines punishment to be "any pain or suffering inflicted upon a person for a *crime* or *offense*." But the crime of Adam, the historian admits, was not ours. Nor have we *any* criminality distinct from, and antecedent to, native depravity; for, in his view, this commences with the commencement of our being. He must therefore use the term "punishment" in a loose and general sense, to denote *evil* which comes upon us in "*consequence*" of Adam's sin. In this sense he may indeed say that "the punishment *due* to one is inflicted on another." But he cannot mean that this infliction is an act of *retributive* justice. That justice commands, "*suum cuique* tribuito," give to every one according to his *desert*; and the historian tells us that we have no share in the ill-desert of Adam's sin. He will never say, therefore, in the face of a declaration from God himself, that in the strict exercise of retributive justice, "the legal penalty," or "punishment *due* to one may be inflicted upon another."

Wherein then lies the difference between him, and such men as Andrew Fuller, Dr. Dwight, and the whole body of New-England divines? *In a different use of terms, to denote substantially the same thing.* And is this a time for christian brethren to break

"the unity of the spirit," and "the bond of peace?"—Is this a time for men who agree in the cardinal doctrines of the trinity, the entire depravity of man by nature, the indispensable necessity of a special divine influence to renew the soul, the sovereignty of God in the dispensation of his grace, the entire dependence of man on the vicarious atonement of Christ for pardon and acceptance with God—is it a time for such men to contend about terms, and to waste their strength in mutual animosities and recriminations, when God is calling upon them "to preach the gospel to every creature?"

ART. XI.—REVIEW OF COX'S SERMON ON REGENERATION.

Regeneration and the Manner of its occurrence. *Barnes.* A Sermon from John v. 24, preached at the opening of the Synod of New-York, in the Rutgers'-Street church, on Tuesday evening, Oct. 20, 1829. By SAMUEL H. COX, D. D. Pastor of the Laight-Street Presbyterian church. pp. 42.

THIS sermon has appeared to us worthy of a more extended notice, than we can ordinarily bestow upon occasional productions of this kind. It was prepared and preached for the especial benefit, of one of the largest and most respectable synods of the Presbyterian church. It is given to the public under circumstances which are fitted to secure to it wide publicity, the avails of it being devoted to a most worthy object of benevolence. The author is extensively known by reputation, as a powerful preacher; but, with the exception of a single discourse, delivered at the funeral of the lamented Bruen, he "never before, in the course of a ministry of thirteen years, has felt it to be his duty to adventure a sermon before the public." We hope he will be induced frequently to repeat the experiment. "Its imperfections of style" he says, "are acknowledged and perhaps sufficiently felt." They are of exactly that kind, however, as far as they exist, which are best removed by the habit of writing much and carefully for the public eye. All the productions of Dr. Cox are characterized by original and penetrating thought. In very few writers do we find more direct and pointed argumentation; a keener glance in tracing the minutest shades of thought; or more of the rapidity of the lightning's flash, in laying open the dark recesses of guilt and error in the human heart.

But passing by all minor points of criticism, we shall come at once to the subject of Dr. Cox's sermon, which is one of the most interesting and important in the whole range of christian theology, viz. *the nature of REGENERATION and the manner of its occurrence.*

The bible describes men as by nature, "dead in trespasses and sins;" but no one understands this to mean, that they are like the dead, inert, cold, and senseless. We need no evidence

from the scriptures to assure us, that men are by nature *actively* and positively opposed to God; filled with pride and envy, "hateful and hating one another." Representations then, of the character of man, as if there were some mass of corruption, seated in the constitution of the moral agent, or some concreated feebleness of faculty, or positive defect, or latent and terrible poison, in the structure of the soul, involving all the proclaimed condemnations of apostasy only by its *existence* there, even while it slumbers, are as much a violation of the dictates of common sense, and of the laws of the mind, as of the sacred scriptures. No being, in all the conceivable stages of transgression, has more decidedly active power than man: and none, except the fallen angels, wields that power with more terrible efficiency. When the scriptures, therefore, speak of man, as "dead," they mean to say, figuratively, that while he is intensely active in the pursuit of earthly objects, *he puts forth no power* for the attainment of heavenly things. In *this* respect, he is like the man in the tomb, in relation to the hum of the busy, the pomp of the ambitious, and the levity of the gay above him. The mouldering inhabitants of the sepulchre hear not the tread of the thoughtless over the place of their rest; nor feel the emotions of gladness that cheer the hearts of those who enjoy the pleasures of this world. So it is with the wicked, in regard to the things of religion. With respect to other things, than efforts to obtain salvation, however, they have tremendous activity. Aggressions upon God, and upon each other, and the wide desolations of the world around us, are proofs, that, with all his spiritual deadness, man is "vital in every part" for the purposes of evil.

There is a change in many men. A point of time arrives when all this activity in evil is stayed, and turned over to the side of religion. The mighty machine, that was carrying desolation far and wide suddenly stops; the wheels run backward, and all its powers are employed in the cause of truth and of God. In other words, the man a few months or weeks ago active in sin, now becomes active in righteousness. He that put forth talent and wealth to corrupt other men, now puts forth talent and wealth to win them to the Savior. He that compassed sea and land to make a proselyte to infidelity, lust, and blasphemy, would now recross those seas, and retrace those lands to win back that proselyte to faith, to chastity, and to the love of God. He that put forth amazing powers to aggrandize himself or family; to rear palaces and live at ease; or to prepare for his body, when dead, a magnificent consignment to the empire of worms, now puts forth the same powers to build up the cause which he labored to destroy,—to advance the kingdom of righteousness, and to "prepare a high way for the Lord." Paul, just before infuriated and blind, now preaches the same Jesus that he persecuted; and Newton, Rochester,

and Gardiner, tell of the love and glory of the same Redeemer, whom a few days before they cursed and blasphemed.

The reason is, they have passed through that great revolution called in the bible "the new birth." They have traversed the line which divides darkness from light, and which separates the kingdom of satan from that of God. They are new creatures; acknowledge a new Lord and new laws; love new objects, and seek new rewards. This is the most decisive change that man ever experiences. It enrolls him with new beings, and is eternal in all the impressions it makes on the soul. No stamp of faith, hope, love, joy, or peace once made there is ever blotted out, but lives, deepens, brightens, glows, forever and ever.

Now an important question arises here, whether this being, so active in different directions on both sides of this change, is also active *in the passage*? Or is he, during the change from one state to another, a mere *passive* recipient of what may be imparted to him? Is the soul like wax which receives the impression made on it by a seal, or does it think, resolve, feel, will, and act, even in the moment of the change? In one word, is the man active or passive in regeneration?

The inquiry on this subject is well stated by Dr. Cox.

In originating and executing the redemption-system, God is self-moved, sovereign in his goodness, and spontaneous in all. We are *relatively* passive then, and even worse since we did nothing to originate his mercy, but much to provoke his justice; since it is his grace that commences and completes the stupendous plan of salvation; and since he is alone the glorious Author, Sustainer, and Finisher of the incomparable scheme "according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."—But in reference to the initial point, the point of contact between the soul and the kingdom, the question occurs, are we *passively* introduced? The question is not, Does God introduce us? is HE the author of our piety? is his operation effectual, and his counsel unfrustrate? It is this; Does God regenerate the soul passively, or is the soul passive while he acts?—Are we regenerated *before* we love God, or obey the gospel?—Is not the change itself entirely coincident with the laws of accountability, with self-reproaches for its postponement, and with every order of God to all men every where to become the *immediate* subjects of it? Is it not wholly *moral*, in contradiction to *physical*, in its nature? Is it not (looking through words to things—from books to facts—at nature, not theory,) is it not intrinsically absurd, and therefore impossible that *passive regeneration* should exist? that we should be morally regenerated in the order of time, or nature, or correct thought, or any other order, *before* we do our duty? that we should do our duty passively? i.e. by not doing it, which is "the way of Cain?" And if this be absurd, is not its absurdity the best part of it? or at any rate its least injurious part? pp. 4, 5.

It is unnecessary for us to say, that the answer to these questions will determine much in relation to the character of this change; the obligations of the sinner; the duty of ministers; the

proper feelings of christians; and the agency of God. Perhaps the solution of the single question whether the soul is active or passive in this great change, may be the pivot on which shall turn whole systems in divinity;—the radiating point from which may shoot off rays, into whole regions of surrounding twilight or midnight darkness. Dr. Cox's design has not lead him very fully into the argument on this point. He has however presented some bold and striking illustrations of the subject; and exposed in very strong language, the pernicious consequences of the dogma which he opposes. We shall endeavor to consider the question somewhat at large.

1. In looking at the bible with reference to this question, we are first met by the fact that God *requires* this change; and requires the sinner himself to exert the requisite power to effect it—not merely to *attempt* to do it—to pray, and sleep, and dream, and hate God while in the sanctuary, or upon his knees, or in reading the bible; calling this a using of the means; but actually *to do the thing*, the *whole* thing involved in this change. Thus he commands "all men every where to repent." Thus he enjoins the duty of believing, on penalty of eternal woe. Thus he calls on all to love him, to obey him, and to keep wholly his commandments. So he says "Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and *make you a NEW HEART*, and a *RIGHT spirit*. For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord, wherefore *turn* yourselves and live ye."

Respecting these commandments, it is to be observed, that they are made with a full knowledge of all the circumstances of the case. God is not ignorant of what man *can* do, and of what he *cannot* do. There are no secret circumstances, no unknown events in the case, as there often are in a human government, that would authorize or excuse a neglect of these requirements. Sickness, disappointment, or some burst of feeling uncontrollable by existing power, which no *parent* can foresee, may often excuse a child from obeying the *letter* of his commands. But no such unforeseen event can excuse a sinner for not obeying the command of God, and doing the whole thing required at his hands. Our Maker knew all the pleas that could ever be made for rebellion. He knew that no contingent posture of human spirits—no new and strange attitudes of rebellion would throw the guilty beyond the proper compass of such a requisition; and with this full knowledge of all possible evasions, and of all conceivable potency and malignity of sin, he issues the demand that all moral agents in this world, should put forth their *own* active agency, and accomplish the work in question.

In regard to these commands, it is farther to be observed, that

they require an *immediate* compliance. They do not enjoin on the sinner merely to use means—to pray, and seek, and thus prolong the day of rebellion, but they solemnly demand on pain of woe eternal, that he should do the whole of the specified work, *at once*. Language cannot be plainer; nor can it be misunderstood. Nor can it, without manifest and most gross perversion, be so tortured as to be consistent with the proclamation that the sinner is to wait *till God does it*; or that God will do it without the sinner's agency; or that it *can* be done while the sinner is inactive. Most clearly, if this change *does* take place without action on the part of the sinner, the command of God is not obeyed. It is as much unmet by a mere *passive* recipient, as it is by any other being who never heard it, or who remains in rebellion. It is clearly a matter of command, that *the sinner's own mind* is to turn to God, by some kind of turning consistent with his moral powers; and the just penalty if he does not, is that he must die. If it had not been required and expected, that the sinner would be active in the change, the command would have been couched in different language. Instead of its being a solemn injunction *to do* the thing required, it would have been to *wait* till God repents and believes *for* us, and then to take the misnamed reward.

2. When we look at the record of facts in the bible, we find that these requirements were based on a knowledge of what *might* take place. Many men of former days did comply with the command of God. In what way do they speak of this great change? Do they record their feelings, as though they were *passive*, and did nothing themselves? That they acknowledged their regeneration to have been owing to the special—the electing love and the almighty power of God, is admitted. It was not by works of righteousness which they had done, but according to his mercy he saved them. It was because he had chosen them to salvation through sanctification, and belief of the truth, that they believed. It was because whom he foresaw, he called, and whom he called, he justified, that they were made free from condemnation. So we feel. That God is the author of regeneration, and of all the grand agencies and results of the redemption system, securing the effect by the exertion of proper power, and bestowing the rewards as it “seems good in his sight,” is a grand fundamental article of our belief, which it is “not in our hearts to impair, but only to aggrandize and honor.” But our belief is, that the sacred writers meant to state this grand truth in such a way as not to “manacle the hands, fetter the feet, or stagnate the mental and moral functions of a man.”

When saints of old speak of the actual *process* of regeneration, they speak as all other moral agents speak, when they are active.

They never use language denoting passivity, but the highest effort. The language is such as men use who form purposes,—put forth the most intense exertion, and *do* the thing required. Thus David says, “*I* thought on my ways, and *turned* my feet unto thy testimonies.” The whole process described, denotes activity. It expresses reflection on the past, a comparison of reasons in favor of opposite courses of conduct; an estimate of results; a sense of what commends itself to the conscience and the judgment; and the *doing* what was required. This is not the language of a man who is merely passive. It describes a complex, though instantaneous act of the soul:—the proper effect, according to all the proper laws of the human mind,—of previous deliberation.

In the scriptures there is no where found language denoting *passivity*, when applied to this subject. It is always the language of an active being. “Lord *I* believe, help thou my unbelief.” “*I* sought the Lord and he heard me.” “*I* love the Lord for he hath heard the voice of my supplication.” “*I* know whom *I* have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which *I* have committed to him, against that day.” All these are the *actings* of a moral agent.

3. To the same effect are all the promises of the bible. They are addressed to men as active beings; never as passive. The promise is to effort; not to inactivity. “*Seek* and ye shall find: *knock* and it shall be opened.” “Every one that *asketh* receiveth, and he that *seeketh* findeth.” “If any man will open the door, I will come in.” “*Come* unto me, and I will give you rest.” Now, in reading these passages—and they have reference to the very point in debate, the commencement of religion in the soul;—would it ever occur that they regarded man in any other light, than as being active in the entire work of religion? Do they look as if the sacred penman, ever considered their minds as mere passive recipients, in any part of this work? Do they not speak as men do on other subjects, when they express activity? And is it not the natural language of these expressions, that the mind is as far as possible from stagnation, or torpor, or “moral panic?” Let it be remembered also, that they speak of the actings of the mind, in *all* the changes which it experiences in religion. There is not a single point relating to the application of christianity to the soul; not a single statement recognizing the actual contact of any part of that system with the heart and producing effect, in which they do not employ language denoting activity. There is nothing in the charge of which they speak, *anterior* to ACTION; no department of the moral man in which christianity obtains a lodgment, that is not expressed by language describing man’s own agency. All we know of the existence of a holy principle in the soul; all that the sacred writers ever

tell us of its influence, existence, or power, is when they tell us of its pervading, and displaying itself in living spirits, which are active through all the process in which that principle exists.

To speak of it otherwise, is to talk of *life* as an independent principle without any thing that lives; or motion without any thing that moves; or thought without any thing that thinks. In conversion, repentance, faith, hope, fear, love, joy, the sacred writers speak always of an active moral agency. In none of their declarations, is the mind considered an inert mass, as matter was when God organized the world; or as wax when it receives the impression of the seal; or as the dead are, when God speaks and they live. That these figures are used we admit; but they *are* figures, and not intended to prove that in *all* respects the sinner is like a mass of earth, or a lifeless corpse. To those who insist that those passages prove the sinner to be passive in regeneration, we would say, Then with equal reason it might be inferred from them, that he was passive *before* the change. If to be made a *new creature* in Christ Jesus, proves that the man is passive in the change, then the figure being carried out, proves also that he was before inert and inactive, like a lifeless body. Yet who does not know, that such an inference in regard to the sinner, would be infinitely far from truth? In some respects indeed, the work of conversion is like the creation of the world, and the raising of the dead. In the greatness of the change, the actual exertion of power by God, and the importance of the revolution, it greatly resembles these highest and most stupendous acts of the Deity. But all this is entirely consistent with the fact, that the sinner is active in the change; "thinking on his ways," forming the decisive choice, and *coming* to Christ. Let it be remembered, that God acts on *mind* not as he does on *matter*. And though from the imperfection of language, the same terms are used to describe his agency in the two cases, the language is to be interpreted according to the nature of the object. When he speaks, therefore, of creating a world, or of raising the dead, he speaks of resistless power acting on the vacancy of space, or on the motionless dwellers in the tomb. When he speaks of renewing a soul dead in sins, and creating it in Christ Jesus, he speaks of operating on that which already possesses active existence; which needs not creation but control, not formation, but change; not new active powers, but active powers newly directed. Language must be interpreted according to the existence of these facts; and in the one case must be understood with reference to the previous non-existence or death of the subject, and in the other with reference to its perverted active powers.

4. The feelings of the soul, as they exist in regeneration, are moreover *the subject of reward*. "He that believeth shall be sa-

ved." "He that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." Yet it is perfectly manifest, that if these are the *mere* gift of God, or their being withheld is his act alone, unaccompanied with any agency on the part of man, they can neither be the subject of reward nor punishment. Like any thing else that is the mere bestowment of God, the only proper effect of them is to produce gratitude; but the possession of them can have no proper connection with reward; nor the want of them, with blame. One man is endowed with distinguished talents. It involves him in high responsibility, and should affect his heart with peculiar gratitude. Another is the heir of a princely fortune. It is the gift of God; possessed of no moral quality; unconnected, in the gift, with any active powers; and therefore neither the object of praise nor blame. On the cheek of one the roses of health always bloom. "Grace" may be

In all her steps, heaven in her eye,
In every gesture, dignity and love."

All these are the allotment of God. They have no moral quality. Nor is a reward promised to their possession. So if faith, repentance, etc. or regeneration, which involves them all, is the gift of God, in the same sense, and as unconnected with activity, as talents, beauty, gold, and health, then like them, they can produce only gratitude, but can never be the subject of reward. If they come down like the showers of spring-time, or the beams of noon-day on the passive earth, or if they spring like the bubbling fountain, or the tender grass, only by the creative power of God on passive subjects, then like the shower, the sun-beam, and the grass, they are without moral quality, and can neither be the subject of reward nor punishment.

Nor, if this be the case, can man be under any obligation to possess them. Who is bound to be a 'father to the rain,' or 'to beget the drops of the dew?' Who is bound 'to scatter the hoar frost like ashes, or to cast forth the ice as morsels?' Who is bound to *possess* showers of rain, or the dew of the morning, or the beams of noon? Not one. They are all beyond the compass of human agency, because they are the gift of God, in a passive world. And in like manner, if regeneration and its attendants, are the gift of God in a *passive moral world*, then are they with suns, and dews, and fountains, and streams, placed beyond obligation, moral character, and reward.

Let us select here, one of the particular points of the Spirit;—one of the effects of the application of christianity to the soul, which may be supposed, if any one can be, to be connected with passivity; and which has commonly, we believe, been so regarded by the abettors of the passive scheme, we mean faith. Unless

we are greatly mistaken as to its nature, it is nothing more than an *act* of the mind—secured by the influence of the Holy Ghost. God has made this the key stone of salvation: “He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned.” This characteristic of the christian, has been exalted to this elevated rank in the divine plan, because it is one of those aggregating virtues, which contain the elements of all others. He that has faith, has repentance, fear, hope, love, confidence, peace, pardon. But is this any evidence that God imparts this christian virtue to inactive beings, or mere passive recipients? Or is its first existence, equally with its full developement, the voluntary act of a moral agent?

Now, when we look at faith, without reference to any theological debate, we see nothing that is particularly mysterious about it as an operation of the mind; nothing which by any inherent properties separates it from the usual actings of moral agency. It is belief in testimony;—that is, credit given to truth according to evidence, implying *action* in looking at this evidence, and in coming to the result. It is simply believing in things *as they are*; and suffering them to make their proper impression on the mind, and on the life;—implying contemplation, thought, purpose, at every stage of the process. It is trust in Jesus Christ;—evidently nothing more than the reliance (a reliance implying purpose and action) of a feeble and guilty creature, on an almighty Savior. It is credence in the promises and threatenings of God;—belief that he is; that he reigns; that he rewards. In all this we see only the actings of the mind. Take away that *act of mind*—the *putting forth* of confidence, trust, or belief, and what remains? There is nothing tangible or conceivable, but that act of the mind. This man *believes*. That is the whole of the process. That man *disbelieves*. That is the whole of the process of infidelity. A child puts confidence in a parent's promise. This is faith. He relies on him in the hour of danger; he fears when he threatens. That is also faith. But besides this act of the mind in the child, there is nothing that can be detected or conceived of in relation to the subject, that deserves praise or blame. So of the christian. All that we know of this crowning christian grace is, that the man believes, hopes, loves, fears, puts trust in God. If this operation of the mind, is not all that is meant by faith, then we ask what secret substratum, or evanescent and invisible existence there is, to which we shall appropriate a part of the name, and the rewards, of faith?

But it is said, that faith is the gift of God. This is true. And so are repentance, love, hope, and peace, the gift of God, and in the same sense, and to the same extent. The passage of scripture which says, “for by grace are ye saved through faith, and

that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God," may perhaps be objected to the view here given. But it should be remembered that while the sentiment which *appears* to be taught there is true, it is not the truth which *that* passage contains. In the original, the word "that" refers not to *faith*, but to the *salvation by grace*. It would be correctly rendered, Ye are saved by grace through faith, and this *salvation by grace* through faith is not of yourselves, it is the gift of God:—a sentiment not asserting any thing peculiar in the gift of faith above other graces; but reiterating one of the universal maxims of christianity, that salvation is by grace, given when, where, and to whom God pleases.

To this view of faith, we know there is presented a difficulty, in the technicalities of some systems of theology, drawn we believe from erroneous views of the philosophy of the mind. It is, that anterior to the exercise of faith, apart from it, and capable of distinct contemplation, and of course responsibility, there is a *principle* of faith implanted in regeneration. By this statement is meant, not simply that the *result* will be secured; not that there is such a divine control, as to make it certain that the man will believe, but something independent of any *act* or *state* of the mind; something having real existence when the mind does not act; something which has secured a lodgement in the soul, that makes it certain that the mind will act in a given way; and something that to the full extent of its influence, renders the interposition of the Holy Ghost, in each specific act of the mind, so much the less necessary. This is the counterpart of the doctrine of physical depravity; of a concreated principle of evil; and is what our author calls "a restorative of the dislocated faculties of the soul." We cannot better reply to this "dogma" than in his language.

Perhaps it will be said that God creates, or inserts some *holy principle* in us, which constitutes regeneration, and in which we are entirely passive; but that thereafter we actively do our duty. To this quaint statement, I reply, that it can command the confidence of no well disciplined mind, till we have both a definition of what is meant by *holy principle*, and a demonstration of its existence, of more importance than the mere terms of the theory. By 'holy principle,' I mean love to God, and not any thing antecedent to it; and by love to God I mean *loving him*; and in that, the subject is active.—And 'the fruit of the spirit,' the most precious fruit that grows in our world, which is luminously defined and identified in the word of God, most fully establishes this exposition. For the fruit of the spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth. The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. If any man will show me how these can be

* Eph. ii. 8. Τῇ γὰρ χάριτι ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ τῆς πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξ ὑμῶν, Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον.

produced without the agency of the subject, I will show him how they can exist without the agency of the Spirit: or if he will show me what regeneration is without them, or antecedent to them, I will show him, where they may be found without regeneration! Most plainly does this grand initiating process coincide with the active powers of the subject, the accountability of "the dead," and the laws of the eternal kingdom." p. 26.

When we look at the actual process in a sinner's conversion, we are met through the whole course, with the very opposite of *passivity*. We admit indeed that God always arrests the attention of the sinner, or awakens him by his own act. This is done by his word, his providence, or his Spirit, or by all combined, when the sinner intends it not, but when the eventful time has come, at which God designs his conversion. The thoughts are arrested. A gleam of light, before unseen, flashes across the sinner's path, and his eye is fixed on eternity. His heavy ear, all at once, hears that God is just; and his heart begins to feel. In the beginning of this, it cannot be denied that the sinner is passive in this sense, that he had no intention of then making an effort; and that it is because God chooses that he should *then* be awakened, and with that intent fixes the eye upon him, and proposes the proper means, that he fears and trembles and inquires.

But is this trembling sinner passive under his convictions? Does he then sit down, and fold his arms, and float upon the stream, as this propitious breeze wafts him onward? They who know any thing of the workings of a sinner's mind before conversion, knew that in all the records of moral doings, there is not a state of higher action, or more set and determined efforts of moral agency, than then. No other struggle can be like this between conscience and law; between selfishness and a sense of danger; between hatred and a conviction of duty. Nor at any moment is there a cessation. Till that auspicious period arrives when the soul submits itself to God, the contest goes on; nor is there at any stage peace or passivity. Who has ever heard of a man converted when he was unconscious? Who is changed in sleep? Who, in delirium? Who, when all the faculties are gone, in old age?

In that moment when the heart is changed, what is the fact in regard to activity? They who have watched this change in themselves or in others, know that no period of their lives, was ever farther from passivity. Exhausted in the fruitless effort to save himself, in his struggles in opposing God; convinced that if this contest continues he must die; overwhelmed by the increasing prospect of perdition, and sinking under the terrific conflict with law, and conscience, and God, the sinner resolves to submit—to renounce his idols, to cast himself upon the mere mercy of God, to be saved or lost at his will. No act of life is more deliberate than this. None is ever more the subject of purpose, and thought.

None calls forth more of the active powers. He submits; he believes; he loves; and peace like the light of the morning comes into the soul, and pardon and joy descend, like the dews of Hermon. His eyes are opened on the splendors of a new world; and he resolves that the glories of that new discovered state, shall be his portion, and the crown of life, his aim, and his sufficient reward.

Now, is there ever any process of mind more active than this? The drunkard becomes a sober man, and does it actively, of choice. But is he more active in doing it, than the sinner in turning to God? The sinner leaves his profaneness by deliberate activity; but is he more active than the penitent in returning to God? The licentious man resolves to become chaste, but does he do it with a greater struggle than the sinner in coming to Jesus? In all these there are similar operations—a similar purpose—and similar results. Why say that the one is active, and the other a mere passive reception of a conferred favor?

4. If man is not active in this change, then there *is* no active power in it, but that of God. Then God believes for us; God repents for us; God loves, hopes, fears, and obeys for us. Then God, in the most important work of religion, is the only active agent—the very error held by Spinoza. If so, what a mockery is it to talk of rewards, and moral government, and promises, and obligations. Then the sinner might sink down into guiltless slumbers, and “wait patiently his appointed time till” his moral “change come,” and then receive the mis-named rewards when they shall be sent. But who is prepared to believe this? Then too it is absurd to talk of obligation. If God converts a man by mere physical action, as he rears a tree, then man should be treated as a tree, and not as a moral agent. If he gives light to the darkened mind as he does to the world through the agency of the sun, then the sinner should sit “in dim eclipse, or in disastrous twilight,” till God send down the rays of morning into his soul.

The conclusion which we draw from this view of the subject, is that the soul is active in all the stages of its great transition from death to life:—and that God in some way unknown to us, yet in consistency with our active powers, controls the faculties of men, so as to secure the result. He does not compel me to believe, nor does *he* believe *for* me. He secures *my* believing, in consistency with my own freedom. He makes it certain, when he *intends* the conversion of a sinner, that he *will be* converted. He presides over the soul, presents motives, acts upon the native susceptibilities, and infallibly secures the result by direct agency, while at the same time, the man acts. Every one who has passed through this change knows that it was he himself who felt, struggled, compared motives, and finally yielded. *He* believed. *He* repented,

and *he* shall receive the appropriate rewards of grace. He takes no credit to himself; but from the beginning acknowledges the agency of God in converting him; sees the good hand of Him that saved him from self-destruction; and feels that God is "first and last and midst," in all his good resolutions, his peaceful feelings, his glad anticipations and his eternal rewards.

If it be objected to the view we have given, that it appears to infringe on the doctrine of election, we answer, that, the discussions relates not to the *persons* on whom God chooses to confer his favors, but to the *mode* in which those who are thus favored, are actually brought to be "partakers of the inheritance of the saints." We, in common with our opponents, refer the change in question to the *special* influence of the Holy Spirit. In the counsels of divine wisdom, those are selected from eternity, to whom that influence will be imparted. Those who are passed by, having the requisite power as moral beings, for the discharge of their duty, have no reason to complain if God makes others "willing in the day of his power," while they are left to pursue their own course. This is the doctrine of election, as inculcated in the scriptures. But what is that doctrine, on the theory of our opponents? That a part of mankind are taken to eternal life, in consequence of a change of heart, in which they had no share. That the remainder sink to hell, for *wanting that which did not depend upon themselves*—for wanting "a holy principle" distinct from, and independent of, any act of their own—and for wanting that *influence of God*, by which such a principle is created in the breast of the redeemed! With exactly the same justice might any man be condemned to perdition for wanting talents, beauty or wealth. These are the representations of the doctrine of election, which have made it so odious in many parts of our land. Every principle of man's nature rises up against such statements. They make the whole system of the doctrines of grace, a loathing and an abhorrence to thousands. They steel the hearts of multitudes against the influence of divine truth. Other multitudes they place in the attitude of *passive recipients*, waiting for some mysterious gift distinct from their own agency. With entire respect, and with personal affection for many who make these statements, we are compelled to say, that, in our view, they take upon themselves a tremendous responsibility in so doing. Woe to that minister of God, who, in His name, proclaims to men *to wait* in the solemn duties of their souls, for the expected aid of the Almighty, or to delay the effort for repentance, till He shall send them new powers or principles of action, from on high. In all the oracles of truth, not *one* such direction is found. The universal command blazes forth from the book of God, with the claim, under the penalty of eternal destruction, for immediate obedience; "repent, and believe," or die forever. Nor

may *men* speak another language. When they, as messengers of God, address immortal beings who are perishing in sin, they have but one message, and one solemn injunction, to reiterate in varied forms, till the soul submits to its offended Sovereign. Even while the message falls from the lips of the preacher, life ebbs away, and the day of doom draweth nigh. The hour rolls on, when all the living shall die; and when all the dead shall come to judgment. To proclaim delay, in form or in fact, by any perversion of the message that shall *induce* that delay, is treason to the Almighty; and they who make such proclamation in the name of the King of Zion, should fear lest the heavens gather blackness over their heads, and ten thousand horrors cling to their feet, and beset their paths, as they see sinners sinking to perdition through their unfaithfulness.

ART. XII.—ON THE SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION IN THE FELLENBURG ESTABLISHMENT AT HOFWYL.

Woodbridge
My Dear Friend,—In my last letter, I gave you some account of Hofwyl, as it appears to a visitor. Among the first questions, he naturally asks, What method of instruction is pursued at this celebrated institution? To this it must be replied, There are *principles* peculiar to Hofwyl; but the *methods* of teaching are as various as the subjects taught, and the individuals under instruction. He will be told that Hofwyl is designed to be a place of *education*; and that *instruction* is regarded as one of the *means* for the attainment of this great object, rather than the *end* in view.

I know not that I can better exhibit the leading principles on which this education is conducted, than by contrasting it with the plans which have been adopted by different classes of *educators*, for you must allow me to employ a word which we want in our language. Some propose as the object of all their efforts, to communicate as much positive knowledge as possible; and if they find a favorable subject for their system, would produce in their pupil a kind of living encyclopedia. Others perceiving how little all this avails to prepare men for active life and usefulness, direct their attention almost exclusively to matters of a practical nature; but they are in danger of forming mere mechanical instruments, of which others may avail themselves in accomplishing their good or their evil designs. Others still perceive, that both these plans fail in giving a man influence in the world; and seek to supply this defect, in the most obvious and easy manner, by attending chiefly to exterior habits and accomplishments. They only produce a race

of *ephemerides*, who may attract admiration, but whose memory and whose influence are limited to the moments when they are present.

Each of these systems is obviously imperfect—and those who are suitably impressed with the importance of the moral faculties and the future destiny of man, lament most deeply the utter neglect of these essential points, in the systems I have described. But in seeking to avoid this error, they sometimes run into another. Sufficient care is not taken to adapt the nature and amount of moral nutriment, to the age and capacity of the child. His intellect is occupied, his memory is loaded with moral maxims and technical theology, instead of simple living truth; and his mind is often wearied, and his habits of sincerity endangered, by being called upon to perform or participate in protracted devotional exercises, to which neither his state of mind nor of body allow him to attend with profit. By some even the treasures of science and the beauties of nature and art are neglected, and perhaps even treated as dangerous instruments of fostering pride, and cherishing an undue attachment to earthly things. All that thirst for general knowledge, all that love of beauty in the objects of taste, which the Creator himself has implanted, is extinguished or left to expire; and the intellect is suffered to languish for want of that variety of objects necessary to the exercise and developement of its noble, its wonderful faculties. By such an education, one may indeed be prepared for heaven, but he will be utterly unfit for the duties, and struggles, and trials of his previous course on earth.

In each of these methods some portion of the compound nature of man, and of the various relations he sustains to this world and to another, is neglected. In all of them, it seems to be entirely forgotten, that the *body* also requires an education which shall render it capable of fulfilling its important destination, as an instrument of the soul, and the medium of its influence on others; instead of impeding its developement or restraining its activity by its weakness, or degrading it by the predominance of sensation and passion. The jewel is carefully polished, but the casket in which it is preserved, is treated with neglect or contempt. The moving power is accumulated to the highest point, but the wheels and levers by which it is to act, are left to arrage themselves almost by chance, and it is not the fault of the educator if explosion and ruin do not follow.

The founder of Hofwyl proposes a nobler and more extended view for the direction of his institution.

It is to develope all the faculties of our nature, physical, intellectual and moral, and to endeavor to train and unite them into one harmonious system, which shall form the most perfect character of

which the individual is susceptible; and thus prepare him for every period, and every sphere of action, to which he may be called.

It is by no means intended to form all according to a single model, or to raise all to the same degree of elevation. On the contrary, each child is considered as destined by Divine Providence to a particular sphere of mental and social activity, which is indicated by the talents bestowed on him, and the circumstances in which he is placed. "No educator," says Fellenberg, "should permit himself to misapprehend or to pervert, according to his own contracted views, that which the Creator has thus ordered in infinite wisdom." He should seek not to create or to annihilate, but to develop and direct the faculties and dispositions of his pupils, in reference to the destination thus indicated. It would be as absurd to employ the same occupation or the same discipline, in the same extent, for each individual, as to prescribe the same remedy, in the same dose, for every constitution. This intellectual quackery, like that which is found in medicine, is the most easy, and unhappily often the most profitable, to the practitioner, but is often ruinous, always dangerous to the patient.

It is also deemed of essential importance to maintain the *due proportion* of development, in the various faculties. "As often," says Fellenberg, "as I have observed one faculty excessively cultivated at the expense of others belonging to the individual system, I have found a crippled being, an imperfect character the invariable result. It is only by means of a harmonious development of every faculty of our nature, on one connected system, that we can hope to see COMPLETE MEN issue from our institutions, men who may become the saviors of their country, and the benefactors of mankind." To form such characters is more important than to produce mere scholars however distinguished; and this is the object on which the eye of the educator should be fixed, and to which every part of his instruction and discipline should be directed, if he means to fill the exalted office of being "a fellow worker with God."

You ask with natural anxiety, in what manner does Fellenberg attain this object;—what is it which gives this pre-eminence to Hofwyl, among the institutions of Europe.

If I were called on to describe to you the "kill or cure" methods of an empiric, or the round of beats and rolls and solemn pauses, when nothing else will answer, to which a military drummer reduces every variety of music, the story would be soon told. But if I were to give an account of the delicate combination and endless variations of remedies and treatment, in the practice of a skilful physician in a lazaretto containing patients in every stage of danger and disease and convalescence, or the manner in which the musician manages the notes and stops and swells

of an organ, and combines low and high, quick and slow, accordant and discordant notes to produce the harmony which enchants us; you would allow me a volume, and would suspect my capacity or my faithfulness, if I attempted to crowd it into a letter. You would naturally suspect me not less, if I were to attempt in the same compass to tell you how a skilful educator manages the mind, whose anatomy and physiology seem almost subjects for divination rather than observation; or how he trains into harmony a set of feelings which surpass in number and contrast, all the tones and variations of which music can boast. I will attempt however to point out a few of the more striking traits in the system, warning you at the same time, that it must be considered imperfect even as a *sketch* of the institution; and that I am compelled to refer you to a detailed account, which I owe it to my country to prepare as soon as Providence shall permit—as the only means in my power of giving you distinct ideas of a system of education, which it required months of examination to become familiar with.

In a brief outline of his views which he communicated to me in manuscript, Fellenberg observes, “Our first object on the reception of a new pupil, is to obtain an accurate knowledge of his individual character, with all its resources and defects, physical, intellectual, and moral.”

Great care is taken to provide for the physical developement and education, by every means of general application. The extent and airiness of the studies and dormitories and play grounds, is strikingly contrasted with that wretched system of economy, which sometimes seeks to accumulate the greatest number of pupils in a given space; and sacrifices their future health and usefulness, to motives of immediate gain. Their occupations are carefully regulated, in the Literary and Practical institutions; each lesson continues but an hour, and is interrupted by a short interval of relaxation for body and mind. Three regular periods are assigned in the day, when the pupils are as absolutely required to engage in some form of exercise, either in games, in gardening, in mechanical labor, or gymnastic evolutions, as they are to attend to the other duties of the school. Their food is simple, and their hours of sleep are regulated according to their age.

But in addition to this, the constitution of every individual is submitted to the examination and continued observation of a physician connected with the establishment; and the amount not merely of *food* and *exercise* and *sleep*, but of *mental occupation*, is proportioned to the peculiar capacity and necessities of the individual. Some who have been sent to Fellenberg for literary instruction, he deems it necessary to occupy for months together chiefly in active pursuits; and has refused to be accessory to the

ruin of their constitution or character, which he believed would result from the injudicious anxiety of their parents, for their rapid intellectual progress.

In regard to moral discipline, the prominent means employed are incessant vigilance and parental kindness in the instructor, and constant occupation in the pupil. "He who educates," says Fellenberg, "must be like the Savior, the child's best friend and not his tyrant," and must imitate the unsleeping but often invisible watchfulness of divine providence. In correspondence with these maxims, several persons, including two of his sons, are employed exclusively as educators. These are always present with the pupils in their studies, their chambers, and their play ground; and learn and correct their characters, and gain their affections by constant familiar intercourse, and a frequent participation in their amusements.

In pursuing this subject he observes, "The great art in education consists in knowing how to occupy *every moment* of life, in well directed and useful activity of the youthful powers, so that nothing evil shall find room to develop itself;" and among all the exterior means of improvement it is his maxim, that "*Industry is the great moralizer of man.*"

In conformity with this maxim, the day is divided into its regular periods of occupation and relaxation, so that every hour is completely filled up. The idler can find no companion, and the observer almost feels himself drawn into the current of activity, which is continually flowing before him. The industry of the literary pupils is their study, and their relaxation consists in labor and exercise. The poorer pupils, on the contrary, who are destined to a life of labor, or are unable to procure an education by other means, are disciplined by labor to habits of effort and self-denial; and study becomes their relaxation and amusement, in which they exhibit the highest gratification and interest. From eight to ten hours are devoted by each class of mature pupils to their respective labors, and the remainder to relaxation; but much less is assigned, and more frequent intervals are allowed, to the younger or those of a feeble constitution. No standard like Procrustes' bed is ever applied to determine what a mind shall accomplish, or a constitution shall endure;—while the powers of all are called forth to the highest degree of activity of which they are capable.

In connection with this, another principle not less important is adopted, that the developement of a child should not be pushed on too rapidly, that the mind especially should not be driven on at the expense of the body, or to the neglect of the heart. All the efforts of misjudging teachers and parents, who wish to see their children early prodigies, in the view of Fellenberg, only sacrifice the *fruit*,

in order to produce an earlier expansion of the *flower*; and resemble the hot-house in their influence in forcing a plant, whose feebleness or early decay, must be proportioned to the unnatural rapidity of its growth, and the want of symmetry in its parts.

For similar reasons, Fellenberg is anxious that the child should not be considered as a mere vessel to be filled, or a mass of matter to be cast in the mold, and stamped with the image and superscription, of the self-appointed manufacturer of *men*. He should be treated as a plant of wonderful delicacy in its texture, whose organization can be changed, or even fully understood, only by its Creator; but with which our concern is to observe its nature, to place it in its proper soil, to give it its appropriate nutriment, to guard it against the dangers which we can avert; and while we plant and water to look to him who giveth the increase, to supply and to maintain that mysterious principle of life which comes from him alone, but which our neglect or our officious interference may check or destroy. He should be treated as a voluntary agent, "whose personal activity operating on himself, and the materials furnished for the exercise of his faculties, is the only effectual means for their complete developement and cultivation."

By thus regulating his views and measures, not according to a preconceived and invariable plan, but in reference to the individual character of the pupil; by adapting the objects presented to his age and capacity, and to the wonderful variety of his intellectual powers; by cultivating the habit of incessant industry, and gaining his affection and confidence; no necessity is felt for that system of artificial stimuli which are usually employed. The native love of activity which belongs to every child, is believed sufficient to urge him forward, when his habits have not been previously spoiled, provided the subjects and periods of study are such as demand only that degree of maturity, and that power of attention which he possesses; and do not interfere with that degree and frequency of muscular movement, which are imperiously demanded for the developement of the body. That this is not a mere theory the example of Hofwyl abundantly proves. There are neither first nor last, neither medals nor rewards nor public exhibitions, and yet I have never seen so much faithfulness of application, so much punctuality in exercises, among such a number of pupils, nor so much love of study. I have seen the most idle acquire habits of application under this treatment, and shall never forget the sympathy of one of this character with a boy, who on account of feeble health, passed some days in play. "Poor fellow, how unhappy he must be. He has nothing to do."

In regard to the general course of education and instruction, I cannot better describe it to you in brief terms, than in the words of

Fellenberg himself, extracted from the manuscript already referred to.

"A great variety of exercises of the body and the senses, are employed to prepare these instruments of the human soul, for the fulfilment of their destination. It is by means of such exercises, that every man should acquire a knowledge of his physical strength, and attain confidence with regard to those efforts of which he is capable, instead of that fool-hardiness which endangers the existence of many, who have not learned to estimate their own powers correctly.

"All the various relations of space should be presented to the eye, to be observed and combined in the manner best adapted to form the *coup d'oeil*. Instruction in *design*, renders us important service in this respect. Every pupil should thus attain the power of re-producing the forms he has observed, and of delineating them with facility; and should learn to discover their beauty, and distinguish them from their contrasts. It is only where the talent is remarkable, that the attempt should be made to render the pupil an artist. The cultivation of the ear, by means of vocal and instrumental music, is not less important to complete the developement of the human being. The organs of speech, the memory, the understanding and the taste should be formed in the same manner, by instruction and a variety of exercises in language, vocal music, and declamation. The same faculties and powers should also be made to contribute to the cultivation of devotional feeling. In the study of natural history, the power of observation is developed in reference to natural objects. In the history of mankind, the same faculty is employed upon the phenomena of human nature and human relations, and the moral taste is cultivated. At the same time, the faculty of conceiving with correctness, and of employing and combining with readiness, the materials collected by the mind, and especially by the reasoning faculty, should be brought into exercise by means of forms and numbers, exhibited in their multiplied and varied relations.

"The social life of our pupils, contributes materially to the formation of their moral character. The principles developed in their experience of practical life among themselves, which gradually extends with their age and the progress of their minds, serve as the basis of this branch of education.

"According to the example of Divine Providence, we watch over this little world, in which our pupils live and act, with an ever vigilant, but often invisible care, and constantly endeavor to render its character more pure and elevated. At the same time that the various improvements in science and art are applied to the benefit of our pupils, their sound *religious* education should be continually kept in view *in every branch of study*. This is also the object of a

distinct series of lessons, which generally continue throughout the whole course of instruction, and whose influence is aided by the requisite exercises of devotion. By a combination of the means I have described, we succeed in directing our pupils to the best methods of pursuing their studies independently : and we occupy their attention, according to their individual necessities and capacity, with philology, the ancient and modern languages, the mathematics and their various modes of application, and a course of historical studies, comprizing geography, statistics, and, with those who are sufficiently advanced, political economy.

“It is the object of our most earnest efforts, to enlarge and enoble the ideas of our pupils in regard to the human capacities in general, as well as to their own conduct in particular, by enriching their circle of experience from the records of sacred and civil history. They should by this means, attain a thorough acquaintance with every variety of human existence and conduct, and with all the consequences of wisdom and folly, of virtue and vice. They should discover themselves, their families, their countrymen, and their country, in the page of history ; and we should endeavor to render them so familiar with every possible lot in life, before their own is fixed, that the most unexpected events shall not take them by surprise or produce embarrassment. They should there observe the rocks on which human happiness is in danger of being wrecked, and learn how to avoid them, before they are hurried away by the whirlpool of the passions.

“We should also draw from history a panoramic view of human nature, in its purest and best form, and in the various parts of life which are accessible to us. We should form to ourselves an ideal model of the highest excellence, adapted to our circumstances and individual character ; one so adapted that we may adhere to it through life, that we may cheerfully struggle to imitate it, nay, that we may be ready to live and die for its attainment.

“History should finally present to us the course of Divine Providence, in directing the destinies of individuals, and of the human race in general. It should produce an elevation and energy in our religious character, which should continue through our lives. This object is best attained, by presenting as early as possible to the view of the child, the great books of God, that of nature, and that of the moral government of the world, as exhibited in real life, in the holy scriptures, and in civil history. But these should be presented in a manner adapted to form his religious feelings in such a manner, that the traces of the infinite wisdom and goodness of the Creator and Preserver of the world, may never escape his observation. Such an examination of the laboratories of the creation which are accessible to us, and of the productions of the infinite skill of the Most High, are the best means of preserving us from that pride, which

might be excited by an imperfect acquaintance with human science and art. We endeavor to proceed from the commencement of our labors, upon the essential principles and conditions of the gospel. Every sound system of education must rest on the instructions of Jesus Christ. In these instructions is given the substance of its theory. The best practical example for the educator is to be found in the Savior of men, and in the result we should aim at no other object, than the realization of that kingdom of God to which *He* has directed mankind." I am, etc. — — —

XIII.—REVIEW ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN SWITZERLAND.

Observations sur l' article sur les sectaires, inséré dans la Gazette de Lausanne du 13 Mars, 1829. (Observations on an article concerning the sectaries, inserted in the Gazette of Lausanne, Canton of Vaud, March 13, 1829.) pp. 12.

Essai sur la Conscience et sur la liberté Religieuse, on examen du rapport présenté au grand Conseil du Canton de Vaud, par le conseil d' état, le 30 Mai, 1829; par A Venet. Parlez en faveur de ceux qui sont muets, Prov. xxxi. 8. (Essay on Conscience and Religious liberty, or examination of the Report presented by the Council of State, to the grand Council of the Canton of Vaud, May 30, 1829; by A. Venet. "Open thy mouth for the dumb," Prov. xxxi. 8.) Paris and Geneva: pp. 100.

In a recent article on the state of religion in Switzerland, we alluded to the persecution now existing in the canton of Vaud, but could not go into details.* The pamphlets before us are particularly interesting, because they present us not merely with the acts of a government, but with the efficient expression of its principles, and thus enable us to bring them at once to the test of impartial examination. The following explanations will enable our readers better to understand the origin and character of these documents.

The Pays de Vaud is a beautiful country, lying between the lake of Geneva and the Jura Mountains, bordering directly on France, speaking its language, and partaking of its manners. For two centuries and a half, this country was a tributary, vassal state of the canton of Berne; and was governed with absolute sway by its bailiffs, who resided in their feudal castles, and collected the established tribute. In 1798, the people resolved to throw off the yoke. They revolted against the dominion of Berne, and estab-

* In that article it was observed, that candidates for the ministry are now only required to avow their belief in the new testament. The words "in several cantons" were accidentally omitted. We find reason to believe also, that our information was incorrect as to the article addressed by the government to the *Revue Encyclopedique* on this subject.

lished an independent government as one of the cantons of Switzerland, which was recognized by Napoleon and by the Congress of Vienna. One of the articles of their constitution was as follows: "The evangelical reformed religion is (shall be) the religion of the canton. The constitution guarantees to the Catholic and mixed Communes Echallons, Bottens, etc. the exercise of the Catholic religion as it has hitherto existed."

The recognized standards of the evangelical reformed religion thus established, were the Helvetic confession and the acts of the Synod of Berne, which are, in the common acceptation of the term, truly evangelical in their doctrines,—at the same time in imitation of other European states, and under the influence of the Holy Alliance, the government was constituted the "head of the church," with authority to license, place, and remove the clergy, and assign and pay their salaries.

In 1813, the religious excitement at Geneva commenced with prayer-meetings of a few students in theology. One of these (Mr. Empaytaz) was refused consecration on this ground; and in 1816, published a work on the divinity of Christ, impugning the orthodoxy of the Genevan pastors. In 1817, the venerable company of Geneva, (as the pastors of Geneva are styled,) imposed their celebrated test upon young ministers and candidates, requiring them to engage not to deliver their opinions in the pulpit, upon the essential doctrines of evangelical religion.* To this test several ministers refused to subscribe, and Mr. Malan, one of the most zealous converts to orthodoxy, was forbidden to preach, and deprived of his support as a professor in the college. On this account, he commenced preaching in private, and in 1820, opened a separate church. The fire thus kindled into a blaze by the efforts to suppress it, soon spread to the neighboring canton of Vaud, which had been deeply affected by the residence of Gibbon and by the vicinity of Voltaire and Rousseau; and from its language and location, had suffered more in religion and morals, from the French revolution, than the eastern cantons. The condition of the

* Lest this singular measure should be forgotten by some of our readers, we give from a former volume the promise, to which the young ministers and candidates were obliged to subscribe. "We promise to abstain, while we reside and preach in the churches of the canton of Geneva, from establishing, either by an entire discourse, or by a part of a discourse directed towards this end, our opinion—1, upon the manner in which the divine nature is united to the person of Jesus Christ—2, upon original sin—3, upon the manner in which grace operates; or upon efficacious grace—4, upon predestination. We promise also not to controvert, in our public discourses, the opinion of one of the pastors upon these subjects. In fine, we engage, if we are led to express our opinion upon one of these subjects, to do it without an extended statement, avoiding phrases foreign to the holy scriptures, and employing as much as possible the terms they use."

churches varied as in the German cantons, in Geneva and formerly in our own country; and preachers were to be found in every stage, from fervent orthodoxy to silent neutrality and *rational* philosophy. But the influence of Ostervald and some others of the fathers of the church in this part of Switzerland, seemed still to survive. Unitarianism was not avowed or advocated as much as in German Switzerland; and it would have been deemed impolitic, if not dangerous, as it formerly was in Geneva, to propose it as the religion of the community. Still the clear and pungent exhibition of divine truth could not be endured patiently, and its enemies adopted the ancient practice, like another church, and spared themselves the task of discussion by calling in "the secular arm" to their aid.

One of the first active measures of the government of Vaud, was to silence a clergyman (Mr. Chavannes) who held religious meetings on Sunday evening, attended by fifty or sixty persons. In December 1823, he addressed a letter to the government, respectfully but firmly declaring his determination to separate from the national churches. He was soon joined by eight other ministers of similar views, among whom were Messrs. Juvet, Olivier, and the brothers Rochat. They alledged as the ground of this separation, "that their belief attaches them to the *Helvetic confession and other standards of faith admitted as the basis of the national church*," which they found abandoned by pastors and people;—thus in fact adhering to, instead of relinquishing that "evangelical reformed religion" which the constitution declares to be the religion of the canton,—and begged respectfully the same tolerance and legal protection, which is granted to the English church, the Catholics, and even the Jews.

To this the government replied by a decree dated Jan. 20, 1824, in which all religious assemblies except those of the established church were forbidden: the officers of the police were required to break them up, and all who should be concerned in them were made liable to fine and imprisonment. On the 20th of May following, measures still more severe were adopted. It was even forbidden under similar penalties, that the scriptures should be read or explained in a family in connection with others besides its members. This decree was by no means left a dead letter in the statute book, but the efforts of the police and the enemies of evangelical religion were combined to carry it into active execution. As an example of the effects of this law, we may state, that a family with which we were acquainted, were visited by two of their neighbors, and began to read the bible. The door was burst open, a body of *gens d'armes* entered and cried out, "in the name of the law, let this assembly be dissolved!" "But what fault have we committed?" asked the family. "What is the book you have

there!" "It is the bible!—It is the bible!" "Disperse!" A female of the same family was visited in the same abrupt manner by the soldiery, while sitting in her bed chamber with a single friend. Fines, imprisonment, and banishment were frequent. A lady of our acquaintance was condemned to a month's imprisonment, and placed for a time in a prison whose only floor was the ground. Five individuals, of whom two were strangers, were found in the house of the Rev. Charles Rochat employed in reading the bible. For this offense this gentleman was imprisoned ten weeks, and then banished for two years. Similar sentences were passed for similar offenses, on the other clergymen we have mentioned. One clergyman, Mr. Henry Juvet, who was first imprisoned, and deprived of the common comforts of life, and then banished, died in consequence of the treatment he suffered, at Nismes in the south of France.

So minute were the observations and so rigid the measures of the government, that a foreign lady who conversed with some of her visitors on the subject of religion, and a German clergyman who urged a pastor to defend the cause of religious liberty, were ordered to leave the canton. We might multiply examples of this kind, but these are sufficient to exhibit the spirit of the government, and the influence of its laws.

At the period when this law was promulgated, the number of Separatists was small. From that moment their increase became more rapid, and the separation assumed more energy and consistence. In the course of four or five years, about half the ministers of the established church adopted their views on every point except separation; about twenty separate churches were organized; and the law of 1824, sunk into a dead letter, and was considered as abandoned by its partisans.

During the last year, the separate churches united in commissioning and sending out a missionary (Lenoir) to preach at those places where evangelical doctrines were not taught. At one place in which he held meetings, the house where the people were assembled, was attacked by a mob; a scene of riot took place, and several of the assembly were insulted and treated in the most unworthy manner. The police instead of punishing the authors of this disorder, arrested the *minister* whom they accused as its cause, under the law of May 20th. He was confined three weeks, partly in jail and partly in the hospital, where he was sent on account of illness; and then was sent out of the village. The gazette of Lausanne, on this occasion, published some remarks on the Sectaries or Mummies, (*Momiers*) as they are termed; and took this opportunity to announce and maintain opinions subversive of all religious liberty.

This called forth the remarks of Prof. Vinet of the college of
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Basle, a native of the canton of Vaud, who distinguished himself several years since (as stated in our last number) by an essay on Liberty of Conscience, which received the prize proposed by the Society of Christian Morals in Paris. Although connected with the established church, and opposed to the separation, his patriotic feelings were roused to indignation by these attacks on the liberties of his country; and though resident in another canton, and free from the evils of intolerance, he prepared the reply contained in the pamphlet, which stands first at the head of this article. This he sent to his friend, Professor Monard of the college of Lausanne, a man not less opposed to the separation, but equally ardent in the cause of religious liberty, who procured its publication. The following is a brief analysis of this pamphlet.

In the early part of the article in the gazette, the writer had said,

I do not by any means oppose independence in religious opinions, but it is to be allowed only *on condition that it does not manifest itself* by acts dangerous to public order, and the peace of the community. Immediately after he adds, The direction of public worship belongs to the supreme police of the state, and society ought to preserve purity and unity of worship.

To this Prof. Vinet replied in his first pamphlet, that an obvious contradiction is here involved.

For the purity and unity of worship are something more than external acts: the direction of worship is quite a different thing from the suppression of crimes arising from worship. A state which directs public worship, which preserves its purity and unity, encroaches obviously upon the domain of conscience, whose inviolability the author has admitted. To preserve *unity* of worship is to tolerate *but one*—to exclude all others. What becomes then of the liberty of worship—of the liberty of conscience?

Society it is said ought to preserve *unity* of worship! You impose a difficult task upon society. History will prove it so. The knowledge of ourselves is sufficient to show it,—common sense declares it. What! You would require society to lead so many imaginations, so many souls, so many moral and voluntary beings to the same form of religion. You choose, that unless they adopt your worship, they should be without any worship. What new power has society acquired? For fifteen hundred years the most powerful and able princes have attempted this in vain, and have you the courage to advise it? Ye who reproach a few zealots with having kindled discord and laid the train of revolutions, estimate if you can, the evils which this fatal system of *unity* which you defend has poured upon the world, and then boast of this impious unity!

Impious is the word; for if it is impious to deny God, is it not equally so to deny conscience which is his voice, his organ, his representative in our souls? Is it not to deny himself? For if there is no conscience, there is for us no distinction between good and evil, and if there is not, what becomes of a Deity? And you deny conscience when you make laws which suppose that it does not exist, or which require that it should not speak.

Prof. Vinet then observed, that in these remarks, the writer in fact attacks almost every government of Europe, and even their own, which tolerates the catholic worship—and then proceeds to notice this question of the writer in the gazette. *What name shall we give to the citizen who braves the laws—search for the word.*

It is not difficult to find it, (replies Prof. Vinet.) It is *sedition, faction, rebellious*. Yes, rebellious toward him who made the law—rebellious in the eye of the law. But remember, the laws themselves are sometimes rebellious—rebellious against the eternal law of justice, against the supreme law of God. Placed between the two laws, the citizen recollects that he is a man—that he is a believer—and then, in the necessity of choosing between his fellows and his master, between man and God, he decides to obey Him by whom kings reign,—by whom legislators make laws, and magistrates execute justice. Inscribed in the world on the lists of proscription he waits for the day when his name will appear within the book of life on high. He is willing to be a rebellious citizen in the society of men, in order to be a loyal and faithful citizen of the society of saints.

We are far, (he adds,) from contesting the duty of respecting the laws. But a natural distinction presents itself. An unjust law ought to be respected although unjust, if it affects only my interest, and my fellow-citizens owe it the same respect although equally injured. But an immoral law, an irreligious law, a law which obliges me to do that which my conscience and the law of God condemn—if we cannot procure its repeal, we must brave it. This principle far from subverting society is the very principle of its life. It is the struggle of good against evil. Suppress this struggle, and what is there to arrest society on this declivity of vice and misery, down which so many causes are united to make it descend.

It is from revolt to revolt, if they choose to employ this word, that society goes on to perfection—that civilization is established—that justice rules and truth flourishes.

The writer in the gazette had in the next place spoken of the *disunion in families and agitation in society*, produced by new opinions. To this Prof. Vinet replied,

Every intellectual and moral movement produces more or less agitation; every development of liberty is more or less attended by storms, and those who like the noble Pole, prefer even a dangerous liberty to quiet servitude, will submit to these inconveniences as unavoidable. The liberty of the press, the liberty of industry, the liberty of commerce, the liberty of instruction, all come to us like the fertilizing rains of summer, on the wings of the tempest. A free government ought to take care that no rights should be invaded—but to attempt to prevent an idea from coming into a nation and agitating their minds, would be as senseless as to attempt to stop the winds on the frontier, or submit the birds of the air to the regulations of the custom-house.

He goes on to say, If this sect holds opinions contrary to reason, it will be easy to prove it. But do not call on the government to assist your eloquence, for this would dishonor it.

The writer in the Gazette had attacked the separated churches

thus: "See these four or five individuals who without a legitimate title—without vocation form themselves an ecclesiastical power, in the heart of the canton, erect a priesthood, create new churches, delegate powers, appoint missionaries and preachers, send them forth to preach the gospel—arm them against a church which they declare to be opposed to it, and dare to invite men publicly to schism and disunion. To this Prof. Vinet replied,

See those twelve fishermen who without vocation, (from man) without a legitimate title, (in the view of the world) form themselves into an ecclesiastical body, erect a priesthood, appoint missionaries and preachers. *These twelve fishermen were the apostles.* See those few men who in the 16th century, without vocation or title, assume the same powers. *They were our great reformers.* What name did they receive from their cotemporaries? The same which you give to these troublesome *sectaries*. But time has decided on their character, let us leave it to time to decide this case also."

We have thus given the substance of Prof. Vinet's first pamphlet without a single remark, in order to enable our readers to derive an individual and unbiassed impression of its character, and to judge more correctly of the spirit and conduct of its opposers. To us it seems the effusion of a superior and elevated mind, rising above the petty distinctions of sect and party, and looking with the discriminating and extended glance of a philosopher, at the distant and future consequences of opinions like those which were announced in the gazette; of one roused by the best feelings of a philanthropist, and a public advocate of religious liberty, to meet and combat an attack upon the dearest interests and highest privileges of man. We could have wished, indeed, that some of its terms had been modified or explained; but we cannot discover any thing which rightly understood, ought to excite the anxiety or rouse the indignation of a government, which allows the liberty of the press to its own citizens, on subjects of interior policy; which bears upon its banner the proud motto "liberty and our country;" and which secured these privileges *only thirty years before* by a "*revolt*" against their liege lords. But such were not the impressions produced on the council of state of the canton of Vaud. They immediately ordered the seizure of the pamphlet; they suspended Prof. Monard, as its editor, from his office in the college; and directed him to be tried before the tribunals, reserving to themselves the extraordinary right of afterwards taking such other measures, as they might deem necessary. On learning these circumstances, Prof. Vinet stated them to the government of Basle, under whom he held his office; and asked leave to go and meet his trial at Lausanne, as a native and citizen of Vaud. To this request the government of Basle, whose views and principles appear to be of the most liberal kind, gave their assent in prompt and

flattering terms. Prof. Vinet proceeded to Lausanne, avowed himself the author of the pamphlet in question, and took the place of Prof. Monard, as the accused; but without being able to relieve the latter from the sentence of suspension. The accusation brought forward was threefold, and the author of the pamphlet was charged

1. *With insulting the authorities of the canton.*
2. *With an outrage against religion.*
3. *With provoking to crime.*

The defense made by Prof. Vinet before the tribunals is the second work, which we have noticed. The first accusation is founded by the council of state, in part on the imputation made "that the government had passed an immoral and irreligious law." But they should have reflected, that Prof. Vinet, in his remark "we are bound to brave an immoral and irreligious law," does not *assert* that such a law exists. He is replying to the *general* question of the writer in the gazette, "what name shall we give to him who braves the law?" and while Prof. Vinet frankly admits that such a man is termed a "rebel," he was bound to modify and explain his meaning as he did, in order not to stigmatize apostles and martyrs with an odious crime.

The council also find an insult concealed in the expression "do not call in the government to assist your eloquence, for this would dishonor it." If any serious accusation could be founded on such a hypothetical remark, it is entirely removed by the statement of Prof. Vinet, that in the original manuscript, the article (it) refers necessarily from its gender to the useless "eloquence," which it was said would be dishonored by calling in force to its aid.

The next accusation is of a far more serious nature. It charges Prof. Vinet with "*an outrage against religion*," in maintaining that the unity produced by compelling all men to adopt the same forms of religion, is an "impious unity." "The outrage against religion," say the council of state, "consists in the allegation that there is impiety in our *religious institutions*." This accusation almost vanishes in the attempt to exhibit it; for to charge a political system which compels men to adopt the same forms of religion, with impiety, surely does not involve an attack on religion itself, or even on the forms established. But let us hear the defence of Prof. Vinet himself.

I have, they say, outraged religion. But what religion? Is it the religion of Mahomet, subduing all to the belief of the Koran by the bloody argument of the sword? Is it that of Charlemagne, mingling the blood of the Saxons with the water of their baptism? Is it that of Ivan the Terrible, making the waters of a river a vast baptistery into which the Siberians were pushed in successive detachments at the point of the bayonet? Is it that of Louis XIV. declaring sword in hand, to a million of French

protestants, that there should be no more protestants in France? I confess without hesitation that I have outraged the religion of Mahomet, of Charlemagne, of Ivan the Terrible, and of Louis XIV. But if, when speaking of outraging religion, the public has understood, as I am to suppose, the christian religion, such as it is in the gospel, the protestant religion as it is found in the standards of the church; I contend that far from having outraged religion, I have on the contrary, in the very words which are condemned, rendered it homage.

God wills the salvation and deliverance of all men; and he saves and delivers them, by the knowledge which he gives them of the truth. If they receive this truth with humble and submissive hearts, if they retain and preserve it, if they apply it, the merciful work is accomplished in them. But all this conduct of man supposes the use of liberty. God could, without doubt, by a miracle, lead all men, at the same time to a knowledge of the truth. God could convert the whole human race at once, and produce instantly, and irrevocably, a unity which no one would have any idea of opposing: but it appears that such a triumph, is not conformable to the views of eternal wisdom.

He has called all men, and forced none. Now as men are differently endowed, and placed in various situations, it results, that uniformity is not naturally established among them. Some arrive at truth sooner, others later, and some, alas! never attain it. And among those who do attain it, there still remains a great difference, according to the degrees of intelligence, the shades of character, and the difference of education. There exists, indeed, one method of introducing among men a kind of uniformity in matters of religion. This method is the proscription of all knowledge. As all colors are alike in the dark, so all opinions are confounded and effaced by the extinction of human thought. There is no longer any difference of opinion, because there are no longer *any* opinions. But among a people, arrived at a certain degree of civilization, this artificial unity is established with difficulty; or to speak more correctly is never established. In order to its accomplishment, it would be necessary that conscience should be so entirely deadened, as to be totally indifferent, to falsehood or truth, to vice or virtue. Nations have never arrived at this apogee of depravity.

Be that as it may, it is not less impious than absurd, to undertake to create by force this religious unity. It is to encroach on the rights of the Deity to attempt to accomplish by violence, that which he has resolved should be brought about by persuasion. It is substituting an exterior unity for an interior, which is the only one he values. It is annihilating religious feeling, for the advantage of the religious establishment. It is, as I have said elsewhere, to wish to have a *church* but no *religion*. To overcome conscience by fear, to purchase it by hope, to deceive it by falsehood, are outrages, equally offensive to him who created conscience, and who has reserved its empire to himself. To place an individual, or a number of men, in the alternative of renouncing temporal advantages, or violating their consciences, is a sacriligious proceeding. And the *apparent* unity produced by these means is "*an impious unity*."

The charge of provoking to crime is founded on the passage before quoted, in which Professor Vinet says, "A law which is immoral, irreligious, and which obliges me to do what my conscience and the law of God condemns, if it cannot be abrogated, must be braved." The council of state deem this offense so flagrant

as to require no illustration. To this Professor Vinet replies, that such principles can only be "*a provocation to crime*," where immoral or irreligious laws exist. Are there such laws, he asks, in this canton? If there are not, there is no provocation in the statement. If there are, will the council demand obedience to them; or stigmatize it as "*a crime*" to refuse to do an immoral or irreligious act? "This" he adds, "is sufficient for my legal defense—but it is not sufficient for my moral justification." On this point he makes an appeal to his judges which emulates the boldness and elevation of the apostle of the Gentiles.

King Agrippa, said Paul to him who was to judge him: king Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. And I say to you: My judges, do you believe in God? I know that you believe. Now if you believe in him, let me ask how can you avoid admitting even with reverence, that where it is necessary to make choice between the law of man and that of God, we must decide for Him "by whom kings reign and princes decree justice?" How can you avoid acknowledging, that there are cases where it becomes a duty, and the most imperious of duties, to disobey the law of man?

Professor Vinet then calls the attention of his judges to the cautious manner in which he has discriminated between an *unjust* and an *immoral* law; in order to take away every pretense from those who would say that every unjust law was in its very nature immoral. An immoral law, and it is only such an one he allows to be "braved," is "a law which obliges us to do what conscience and the law of God condemns."

This distinction (he adds,) is calculated to produce the greatest security which a state can claim; indeed even in the case of immoral laws, the state could have nothing to fear, beyond simple disobedience. There is no possibility of commotion, insurrection, or attack, or of an armed revolt. There are two parts in every such law,—the command which is immoral, and the penal clause which is unjust. On the principle maintained, the first alone would meet with disobedience, and the second would be met with submission. If the believer refuses to perform the act which is enjoined, he submits voluntarily to the chastisement inflicted. If he will not allow you to fetter his conscience, he will always surrender his body to punishment. Command him to deny his faith—he cannot. Tell him to sacrifice his wealth—to descend to the dungeon—to march to the scaffold—and he is ready. The penalty, the prison, the punishment,—all these terrible or bloody tributes which society imposes on disobedience, he pays with joy and without hesitation. Meet him with an impious law, and you will find a lion in resistance; raise the sword over his head, and the lion becomes a lamb in submission to the penalty.

Gentlemen you know well, that this is not an idle supposition. It is not a distinction of to day or yesterday, which I present to you. Written in pious souls, by the hand of God himself, it is strikingly exhibited in the conduct of christians, in every period of persecution. When the primitive church received from the wrath of the Roman emperor, that bloody

baptism promised in the gospel, this constant and straight union of disobedience and submission was seen in the conduct of all its members. Neither their duty as citizens, could make them deny their faith, nor their faith make them forget their duty as citizens. Were they required to adore false gods? they were found rebels; were they condemned to suffer death, they became citizens.

Professor Vinet next goes on to show the peculiar security arising from requiring (as in his definition) that "conscience and the law of God" should both *unite* in condemning an act, before the law which commands it should be pronounced immoral. Both he admits are of absolute authority to the individual. But conscience, he remarks, might be said to be variable in its decisions. The law of God might be said by some to be of no authority, by others to be liable to various interpretations. But, he adds,

By uniting and *combining* these two authorities, each of which is separately received, the one is modified and regulated by the other. What conscience appears to possess of an individual and flexible nature, is corrected by what is general and absolute in the law of God; and the variety of meanings, which passion and interest may find in the clearest passages of the bible, are reduced to a glorious unity by that light of conscience which puts passion and interest to silence.

The council of state laid great stress upon the declaration of Professor Vinet, "It is from revolt to revolt, (if they chose to employ the word,) that society goes on to perfection, that civilization is established, that justice reigns, and truth flourishes." They say, "It is difficult to imagine a theory more dangerous to the social state. What shall we say to a doctrine which presents successive and perpetual revolts, as a means of perfection—of a doctrine which finds civilization, and justice, and truth, in the midst of constant and permanent anarchy—for he says, "the suppression of this struggle would be a principle of death."

To this imposing attack on the most questionable passage of his pamphlet, Prof. Vinet replies by an exhibition of that forgetfulness of the divine law, which so pervades the feelings and measures of politicians, and an explanation of his own meaning.

In making of morals and politics, two absolutely distinct and independent domains; in not admitting the necessity of rendering the latter in all things, subordinate to the former, we put side by side, two irreconcilable positions—the one that civil authority has a right to absolute obedience—the other, that man does not owe absolute obedience to civil authority. Strange as this result may be, it is found in the institutions of most nations. Hence in almost all countries, *every* resistance to law, or the orders of the constituted authorities is called *revolt*, and with good reason, for revolt, let it be remembered, is nothing more than resistance to the orders of authority; and there is not another word in the language to explain this complex idea. England alone has consecrated in her laws the right of re-

sistance. But elsewhere, power has not established this barrier against its own oppression. It has understood and wished others to understand, that every order ought to be respected, for the simple reason that it proceeds from itself. It has made no reserve in favor of any institution, or any principle. Hence it necessarily follows, that in the eyes of those in whom power is vested, and in the rigor of legal language, all *resistance is a revolt*. All the attempts at resistance, even the noblest and those best founded in morality, have at all times received the name of *revolts*; and indeed were so on the hypothesis, universally admitted, of the omnipotence of political councils. It is thus that I was authorized to make use of this term, to designate an act not *essentially* culpable, an act, which, in the eyes of morality, may or may not be wrong, but in the eye of the state, always is. And at the recollection of a thousand generous revolts, which have elevated the commands of God above the pretensions of men, the claims of truth, above those of error, and the rights of virtue above those of vice, I was authorized to say, that it is from revolt to revolt, that societies are brought to perfection, that justice reigns and that truth flourishes.

Prof. V. closes with the following appeal to the conscience of his judges.

Gentlemen,—I have said enough in my defense,—I submit my cause to you. If I am condemned, I earnestly wish that the truth which is involved in my pretended crime, may remain unblemished and entire; but I wish it more than I expect it. My accusers do not desire that I should go to prison; but they are anxious that this principle, which places conscience on the throne, should not be sanctioned. It is the *principle* that they wish to fetter. It is that which they hope to see overthrown by my condemnation.

Under the appearance of attacking a few strong and frank expressions of mine, they have put on trial the most awful as well as the strangest of questions. *Ought we to obey God rather than man?* A party, who I hope are not conscious of all their feelings, urge you to reply in the negative. They wait your answer, as the signal for oppressing all who act sincerely on the opposite principle. Will you give them this satisfaction? From such a concession may God preserve you!

This terminates the personal defense of Prof. Vinet.

We have ventured to make copious extracts, not merely to gratify a natural curiosity concerning this disinterested, and crowned advocate of religious liberty, but because we think it important to come back occasionally to *elementary* principles on this subject; especially at a moment when the rights of conscience are treated so lightly by some, and when others are ready to mourn over the relaxation of the laws on this subject, as if this were the cause of errors and divisions, which originate in human nature itself. We are in danger, we fear of adopting traditional opinions instead of examining the basis and extent of this privilege, for which our forefathers sacrificed every other.

The remainder of the essay is occupied by a very able and eloquent discussion of the liberty of conscience, the liberty of worship, and the rights of the citizens of Vaud, which our limits do not allow us to enter upon at present. We can only state that the tribunal of examination (*tribunal de premiere instance*) declared that the

pamphlet of Prof. V. was not liable to the charges brought against it : and this triumph of truth was *confirmed* by the decision of the court of appeals, with the single remark, that a dangerous theory had been incautiously announced. It appeared, however, that Prof. V. had violated the law which requires that every production of a person not resident in the canton, should be submitted to the censor of the press before publication, and for omitting this, he was adjudged to pay a fine of about thirty dollars with costs.

The legal investigation terminated thus honorably to Prof. Vinet and Monard, in consequence of the independence of the Judiciary in this canton. The council of state, however, do not appear to have acquiesced in their decision, but proceeded to exercise the right of *subsequent* decision, which they had so singularly reserved, (perhaps in anticipation of the result) and issued a decree, deposing Mr. Monard for one year, and excluding Mr. Vinet for two years from any place in the ministry.

We regret to learn that in addition to this, as was stated in our last number, the government and the enemies of evangelical religion still continued their oppressive and persecuting measures, towards the Separatists. In that article we ventured to suggest that our duty towards these associates in the cause of religious freedom, these brethren in the church of Christ, was not comprised in that sympathy which drops a tear and passes by on the other side, with the benevolent wish "be ye warmed, be ye comforted,"—nor even in that higher exhibition of christian love, intercession for them, with our common Father. We maintained, and we still maintain, that they are not so beyond our reach, that our duty can be fully discharged in this manner. We stated that even excellent men in Switzerland dread the result of a liberty on religious subjects, which they have never tried. They need to be furnished with evidence from the experience of our own country to enlighten their minds, and we adduced evidence of its effect. We expressed our conviction that resolutions on the part of our ecclesiastical bodies, expressing their views of the impolicy of restraints on the liberty of worship, and affirming those results of our own experience, on which these views are founded—accompanied by a communication in a christian spirit, expressing their sympathy with these sufferers, and pleading with the established church, and with its guardians in their behalf, would console the captive, and weaken the arm of the oppressor, and shorten the struggle which is going on. We said, and we repeat our belief, that "It is time the voice of our country was lifted up in defense of the principles in which we glory." We again add, "*That voice will be heard,*" and if this be pronounced the result of national feeling or idle speculation, we appeal to a transatlantic testimony, derived from the splendid and animating work of Douglas, on the Advancement of Society, which we rejoice to state will soon be republished in this country.

Every change in America has occasioned a correspondent change in Europe. The American revolution set fire to a train, which has not yet fully exploded. At every expansion of American influence, the older countries are destined to undergo new changes, and to receive a second character from the colonies which they have planted. The spirit and imitation of American freedom will spread still more rapidly and widely than its power. No force can crush the sympathy which already exists, and is continually augmenting between Europe and the New World. The eyes of the oppressed are even now turning wistfully to the land of freedom, and the kings of the continent already regard with awe and disquietude, the New Rome rising in the West, the fore-shadows of whose greatness yet to be, are extending dark and heavy over their dominions, and obscuring the lustre of their thrones.

We know not how we can make a more powerful appeal to the hearts of our countrymen, than in presenting them the closing passage of the interesting essay before us :

I wish the heart of every citizen could be made to feel the cruel injustice of depriving a community of the worship in which it finds its consolations, its hopes, and the motives of its virtues. Opposed as I am to separation, I still plead for liberty of conscience for the oppressed Separatists. I would plead for it for Socinians and Unitarians if (which God forbid) their doctrines should become popular in our country.* I plead with conviction, for no one adopts an unpopular opinion without conviction. But I plead also with confidence, for I know that this cause is approaching the period of its triumph. I read this presentiment in the hearts of those who oppose it. They have no courage in their work, for they perceive that God does not acknowledge them. They resist with fainting hearts the force of that truth, which has triumphed over adversaries a thousand times more powerful; and which has not survived the struggle of nineteen centuries to come and expire at their feet. They foresee, without avowing it, the fall of a system of oppression disgraced in every civilized country. "*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*" In a few years, the liberty of worship will be legally established in our canton. A thousand hearts will thrill like mine with joy at this delightful thought. The voice of prayer has called for this triumph. Yes, from every portion of the christian world, prayer has ascended for the liberty of conscience in this little corner of the earth. An Eternal Friend who has appeared on earth, and whom our faith now contemplates in heaven, has asked this victory for us from his Father. We shall obtain it. His cross is all powerful and we seem to see it like the Roman emperor, with its motto emblazoned in letters of light. "*Hoc signo vinces.*"†

Shall not Americans respond to this appeal? Shall we not contribute our share to a result which is thus secured? Let us listen to the beautiful motto adopted by this advocate of the oppressed, "*Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Plead the cause of the poor and needy.*" And let us look forward to that day, when *the king shall say*, "*INASMUCH AS YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO THE LEAST OF THESE MY BRETHREN, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME.*"

* In Vaud as stated page 368, they are not publicly espoused.

† With this sign shalt thou conquer.

Editor. *Mitchell*

ART. XII.—BRIEF NOTICE OF DR. TYLER'S VINDICATION.

A Vindication of the Strictures on the Review of Dr. Spring's Dissertation on the Means of Regeneration, in the Christian Spectator for 1829, in reply to the Reviewer and Evangelicus Pacificus. BY BENNET TYLER, D. D. Portland: pp. 64.

WE have this moment received Dr. Tyler's pamphlet in answer to our late review of his Strictures; and shall occupy the few pages which are left us, in briefly considering the present state of the discussion, reserving other remarks, if necessary, for a future occasion.

Dr. Tyler makes one declaration in the work before us, which ought forever to end his contest with our reviewer, on the main points at issue. "I fully admit," says he, "the principle of Edwards, 'if nothing could be pleasing or displeasing, agreeable or disagreeable to a man, then he could incline to nothing and will nothing.' And if this be all which the reviewer means when he says, that 'self-love is the primary cause of moral action,' and that 'of all specific voluntary action, happiness is the ultimate end,' as he seems occasionally to intimate, *I have no dispute with him.*" p. 20. Now we can assure Dr. Tyler that this *is* all; and that we have not only "*occasionally intimated*" this fact, but carried it along with us in all our reasonings, and declared it in express terms, before he ever published a syllable on the subject. We stated, "when we say that the soul in regeneration chooses God as its portion, under the impulse of its inherent desire of happiness, we are *SIMPLY stating the great principle of Edwards, that the will is as the greatest apparent good.*" p. 703. What language could declare more fully, that "to choose from a desire of happiness," and to choose because an object is "pleasing" or an "apparent good," is *the same thing*? Now this concession ought, we think, to have guarded Dr. T. against an error which runs throughout his whole argument—that of confounding two great departments of human agency, viz. that of *constitutional* properties or propensities, and that of *choice or voluntary* action. The former is founded in the all-pervading desire of *happiness*, from which every thing called *motive* derives its force, and which is therefore the "primary cause" of moral action. The latter is that great controlling faculty (call it *will*, or what you please,) which is placed in us by our Maker, for the *restraint* and *government* of the constitutional propensities. The line which separates them is perfectly defined. In the department of choice or voluntary action, decide which way we will, we are absolutely certain, that we *could* have decided otherwise. Had we done so, it would involve no *miracle*, no change of those powers or properties, which constitute us free agents. Not so in the department of constitutional propensity. We have no power to extinguish the desire of happiness. Our only power is, to decide by an act of choice as to what objects, and in what way, we will *gratify* this desire. To the department of voluntary agency, likewise, belongs exclusively the sense of *right* and *wrong*. We never think of asking whether it is wrong for us to desire happiness: we might as well ask whether it is wrong to exist. Here are two criteria, then, *power to the contrary*,

and the quality of *right* and *wrong*, which distinguish the actings of the mind in the department of moral agency, from those which take place in the department of constitutional propensity.

We shall now apply our remarks to some of the points in debate.

1. The distinction between *self-love* (desire of happiness) and *selfishness*, in unrenewed men. Dr. Tyler denies that any such distinction exists. "In moral beings destitute of benevolence, self-love becomes the controlling principle, *and is then the same as selfishness.*" Vind. 19. Here then is a total confusion of the two departments in question. Self-love, Dr. Tyler admits to be a *constitutional* desire or principle of our nature—the "primary cause" of moral action. And yet he makes it moral action *itself*, i. e. *both* cause and effect! Again, he declares (p. 20) that selfishness is "*preference.*" But preference, is an act of *choice*, and belongs to the department of voluntary agency. Again, he admits self-love to be the *foundation* of a thing's being "pleasing," and thus of moral agency. And yet this very foundation—this essential "primary cause" of such agency in the unrenewed, is *sinful*! Again, no sinner has power of *any* sort to extinguish the principle of self-love, or a desire of happiness, in his bosom. And since this desire in him is "the same as selfishness," no sinner has power of *any* sort to extinguish his selfishness, or cease to sin! And yet a just God will hold him guilty! We might follow out Dr. Tyler's principles in this way, to any extent. But our object is not to expose his errors. Self-love, in the unrenewed, differs from selfishness not merely in *degree* but in *kind*. The one *prompts* to moral action, the other is moral action *itself*. The one *craves* indulgence, the other decides to *gratify* that craving, in ways forbidden by God. We perfectly agree with Dr. T., though he seems to imagine otherwise, in adopting Dr. Dwight's definition of selfishness, "a *preference* of ourselves to all others." Such a preference is an act of *choice*, not a mere desire of happiness. And in making it, we choose to indulge our desire of happiness *at the expense* of the happiness of all others; which is a totally different thing from simply desiring to be happy, however intensely.

2. *The ultimate end aimed at in every act of choice.* Our reviewer stated this to be *happiness*. Dr. Tyler in his *Strictures*, denounced this statement, as annihilating the distinction between sin and holiness. But now he tells us, that *if* the reviewer meant, what the whole tenor of his remarks shows he meant, he has "*no dispute with him!*" And yet on the very same page (20) he returns again to the charge. In his *Strictures*, he had said, that on our principles there was no "radical distinction," between a seraph and an apostate, because both aimed at the same end, viz. happiness. We replied that the distinction lies in the *choice* they make, of different objects. One chooses obedience to God, and the other rebellion. And where, we ask, except in the department of *voluntary* agency, *can* moral distinctions exist at all? But says Dr. T. "Is it so? is it the *choice* of different objects, merely which constitutes the distinction of moral character?" p. 20. Edwards thought so, when he reduced all the moral affections to "*exercises of the will.*" So thought

Dr. Strong when he said, "a holy *will* is a holy *heart*." Dr. S. Spring was of the same opinion, when he defined sin to be "a wrong *choice*." And such we should suppose was Dr. Tyler's meaning, in his sermon in the National Preacher. "When we say that man is entirely depraved, we mean that he is a guilty rebel, who *VOLUNTARILY refuses* allegiance to the God who made him. This supposes no difficulty in the way of his salvation, except what lies in an obstinate and perverse *WILL*." Has Dr. Tyler since discovered any other difficulty, or any other distinction in moral character? The truth is, all this perplexity arises from ambiguity of language. If by "ultimate end" is meant the *objective motive* of the choice, then the ultimate ends of the seraph and apostate "are (as we stated) as far asunder as heaven and hell." But if by "ultimate end" is meant (as we explained our meaning) *that*, in the objective motive, which makes it sought or desired, this in both cases is the *happiness* expected.

Dr. Tyler saw this clearly on the top of the 20th page of his Vindication; and therefore said of our reviewer, "I have no dispute with him." Why, then, did he on the very next page, repeat the charge against us of annihilating "all radical distinction between holiness and sin?" p. 21. Because he instantly changed in his own mind, (contrary to our explanation,) the meaning of "ultimate end" into that of objective motive. "If it be a fact that all moral beings have the same ultimate end in view, i. e. if they are actuated by the same *motives*!" etc. But we never said they were, in the sense of Dr. T. here; we said the contrary. We only asked (in view of Edwards' principle "the will is as the greatest apparent *good*,") "Can there be a motive without some *good*, expected and sought by the agent?" Dr. Tyler, to our amazement, answers *yes*; directly in the face of his declaration (as quoted above) recognizing the principle of Edwards. But it is not a little curious to look at the case which he presents (pp. 22—3) in proof of his assertion. It is that of one who makes sacrifices for the benefit of another. And Dr. T. adds, "Would it not be more *agreeable* to him, more *congenial* with his feelings, to suffer the loss of personal happiness, than that this amount of good should fail?" Truly it might be, and if so, then it promises him more *happiness*, the very thing he seeks here as well as every where else. When Dr. Tyler shall point out something which is "agreeable" or "congenial to the feelings," without offering any happiness to the mind at all, we will stand corrected and reproofed on this point.

3. *The triplet of physical impossibilities.* Dr. Tyler admits (Vind. p. 8) that he has proved it to be *physically* impossible for sinners to use the means of regeneration. "Suppose my argument does prove," etc. But, he adds, "have I proved that sinners are incapable of doing their duty." We answer, if the *means* are impossible, the *end* must be so too. If sinners are *physically* unable to use the means of holiness, they are *physically* unable to become holy. No one can deny this, without denying that truth is the necessary means of holiness. This Dr. Tyler will not deny, and therefore he *has* "proved that sinners are incapable of doing their duty."

Still he adheres tenaciously to his triplet, and re-states it in a great

variety of forms. But all amount to the same thing ; man must act from "right motives or wrong motives, or no motive at all." But here the case of Adam stood in his way. From what motive, i.e. *intention* or *feeling*, (the reviewer asked,) did Adam's *first* sin arise ? Dr. T. meets the difficulty manfully, and answers, (p. 10,) from a *sinful* motive—a *wrong* intention ! "What ! said the reviewer, in anticipation, sin before the *first* sin ? Now, how is it possible for Dr. T. to escape ? The cause must precede the effect. The feeling out of which another feeling arises, must in the order of nature, precede that other. Still he persists, "in what did Adam's *first* sin consist, if not in acting with a wicked intention," and so leaves the matter !

Now, Dr. Tyler was thrown into this unfortunate and painful dilemma, by hastily applying a right principle in a wrong place. It is certainly true, that *ordinary* acts of choice spring from the governing purpose of the soul, from a good or a "wicked intention." But Adam's first act of sin was an *extraordinary* case. His governing principle had, to this moment, been holy ; and his first sin could not spring from that. As yet, there was no *contrary* governing principle, no "wicked intention" out of which it could spring ; for this *commenced* its existence in his first act of sinning. It is intuitively certain then, that Adam's first sin sprung from the impulse of that desire of happiness, which Dr. T. acknowledges is the "*primary* cause"—(the very thing we have affirmed) of "moral action." The triple chord is therefore broken. The formation of a new governing principle in us as in Adam, must spring from the same "primary cause ;" though it never actually takes place without a direct influence of the Spirit. This is the simple fact, whose statement has called down upon us such severe reprobation from Dr. T. Let him escape it if he can.

4. *The suspension of the selfish principle.* Our reviewer said, that in the process of turning to God, there are three things. 1st. A final suspension of the selfish principle, leaving the mind to, 2d, the mere exercise of its constitutional desire of happiness, out of which as a motive i.e. impulse springs, 3d. The choice of God as the portion of the soul. But he told us from the first, that all this occupies "*no measurable duration*," (p. 18, vol. for 1829)—that he was merely giving an "*analytical* view," of the subject (do.)—that the antecedence spoken of, is in "the order of *nature*," not of *time*, (p. 17, do.) Dr. Tyler declares that there is no *antecedence* in the case ! "The question at issue is—whether the selfish principle is suspended in the sinner's heart antecedent to regeneration." (p. 62, Vind.) But we will not take him at his word. He means to say, that no act of the mind *intervenes*, between the last act of supreme selfishness, and the first choice of God as the portion of the soul. But if so, says the reviewer, out of what feeling (as a *motive* i.e. *impulse*) does the choice of God spring ? Out of a "holy motive" says Dr. Tyler. If so, rejoins the reviewer, holiness and supreme selfishness *co-exist*, not only in the order of *time*, but even of *nature* !

Now it is in vain for Dr. T. to deny, (Vind. p. 25.) that the whole question is reduced to this. Either there is *no* cause of the first holy choice, or that cause *does* precede its effect. And if that cause is

not the simple desire of happiness, then it is either selfishness itself, (which Dr. T. denies) or something holy which *co-exists* with that selfishness.

The truth is, Dr. T.'s attack, and his whole argument, is founded on a confusion of the order of *nature* and of *time*. Hence he is perpetually misled by using terms on this subject, denoting time, as "*while*," "*when*" "*with* a wicked intention," (*with* denotes here *concomitancy*) &c. Had he started with the distinction made by the reviewer, and kept it continually in his mind, his two pamphlets, we believe, would never have been published.

5. *The period occupied in using the means of regeneration.* The reviewer opened his treatise by stating that this is *not* "a measurable duration"—that this "using" exists only in "the order of nature" "*not of time*." He again said that this using, *together* with the first act of holiness "occupies but an *indivisible* moment." (p. 697.) And yet Dr. T. actually charged him in his *Strictures*, with making it a *protracted* duration; and on this charge founded another, that of teaching progressive regeneration? The reviewer again solemnly disclaimed the sentiment, and showed that the very terms, on the use of which Dr. T. founded his charge, are used in the scriptures in the same way. Still Dr. T. returns to the charge, and one quarter of his "*Vindication*" is on this point. Why is this? Is there any longer a doubt as to the real sentiments of the reviewer on this point? Must he then, at all events, be put in the wrong as to something? Dr. T. has misunderstood him. The reviewer has frankly said that if this arose from his being too "analytical," he is sorry for it. Why is not Dr. T. satisfied?

6. *The advantages of the reviewer's theory.* Dr. Tyler thinks it of no use at all. If the public think so, the reviewer has lost his time and labor. But if there is in this country such a mode of inculcating the doctrine of the sinner's dependence, as the reviewer supposes—if there are any who teach the doctrine, that the impenitent CANNOT (in the nature of things) choose God as their portion except from a *holy* motive; then, (since nothing is in their power which lies *back* of choice,) the requisite "*holy motive*" is *not in their power*, and they have only to lie down and "*wait God's time*." Will Dr. T. say, that the doctrine which, we think, leads to this, has not been taught?

We have thus examined the six principal topics of Dr. Tyler's *Vindication*. We sincerely regret that he continues to misunderstand and quarrel with our reviewer; but it is some comfort to find that at every step he takes, he quarrels with himself likewise.

*** Our readers will observe that the present No. contains 16 pages of *extra* matter.